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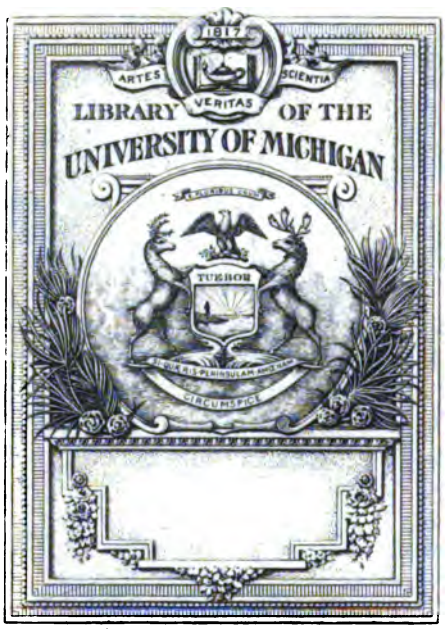
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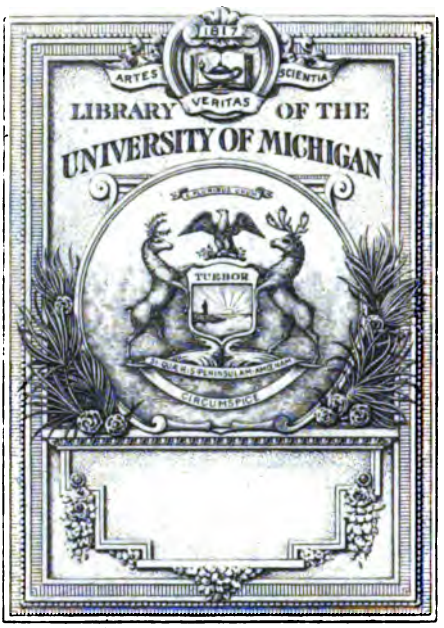
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CATHAY AND THE WAY THITHER;

BEING A COLLECTION OF

MEDIEVAL NOTICES OF CHINA,

TRANSLATED AND EDITED

BY

COLONEL HENRY YULE, C.B.,

LATE OF THE ROYAL ENGINEERS (BENGAL).

WITH A

PRELIMINARY ESSAY

ON THE INTERCOURSE BETWEEN CHINA AND THE WESTERN NATIONS PREVIOUS TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE ROUTE.

VOL. II.

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III.

CATHAY UNDER THE MONGOLS.

III.

CATHAY UNDER THE MONGOLS. EXTRACTED FROM RASHIDUDDIN.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

It has appeared desirable to present these extracts here, both as an appropriate variety, and as in some measure at least a sample of the literature which flourished under one of the Mongol dynasties to which we have so often occasion to refer.

The translation is borrowed from the French, chiefly from that published by Klaproth in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1833 (ser. ii, tom. xi, pp. 335-358, and 447-470). This was put forth in correction of a previous version by Von Hammer Purgstall, with which Klaproth found much fault, especially in the defective decypherment of proper names, of outlandish expressions, and sometimes even of simple Persian words; but in some of these respects he would himself also seem occasionally to have missed the mark. There is another translation, with considerable omissions and some additional matter, by D'Ohsson, in the Appendix to the second volume of his history of the Mongols, and I have followed that wherever it appeared to give better sense than Klaproth's version. An elaborate introduction to a paper of so little pretension as a translation thus prepared would be quite out of place, and a few paragraphs of explanation as to the author and his works are all that need be given.

Fazl-ullah Rashíd, otherwise Rashíd-ud-dín, son of 'Imád-ud-daulah Abu'l Khair, was born at Hamadan about A.D. 1247. His enemies, in the latter part of his life, called him a Jew both by birth and religion.[1] The latter part of the assertion is disproved, both as to himself and his immediate predecessor, but Quatremère is inclined to think that he was possibly of Jewish descent, as he shows an acquaintance with Jewish rites and customs singular for a Mahomedan statesman.

[1] Ibn Batuta (ii, 116), who saw Rashid's son attending as Wazir on Abu Said Khan at Baghdad, says that "the father Khwaja Rashid had been an emigrant Jew." Saiduddaulat, the chief minister and favourite of Argun the father of Oljaitu, was a Jew (*Mod. Univ. History* in Fr. trans., iii, 646).

*

He was a physician by profession, and, in that capacity apparently, passed a considerable part of his life at the court of Abaka Khan and his immediate successors. All treated him with distinction, but he came into no great prominence before the accession of Ghazan Khan in 1295. The Wazir, Sadr-ud-dín, was an old friend of Rashid's, but mischief-making embittered the minister against the latter, and eventually (1298) the Khan taking Rashid's part violently, caused Sadr-ud-din to be executed. Rashid himself was then named Wazir of the Persian empire in conjunction with Saad-ud-din. Oljaitu, the brother and successor of Ghazan, maintained both ministers in office, but they disagreed, and a succession of quarrels between them ended in Rashid's denouncing his colleague, and causing him to be put to death. This recurring fatality to Rashid's rivals and colleagues tends to raise serious doubts as to the high character claimed for him, and to abate our pity for his own catastrophe. He did not get on better with Saad's successor, one Ali Shah Jabalán, though selected by himself. Rashid kept his ground till the death of Oljaitu, but on the succession of Abu Said (1317) his enemy succeeded in prejudicing the king against him, and he was displaced. Such confusion ensued that the old statesman had soon to be recalled, but he speedily fell again. He was now accused of having caused the death of Oljaitu by a potion administered by the hands of his own son Ibrahim, who had been the Khan's chief butler. A doctor's quarrel *(spreti injuria dicti)* aided the conspirators. For one of the chief physicians declared that Oljaitu's death was attributable to a purgative urged upon him by Rashid strongly against the legitimate opinion of the physician. He and his son, a noble youth of sixteen, were condemned. Ibrahim was killed before his father's eyes, and then the old man was hewn in two. His head was borne through the streets of Tabriz, and proclaimed as that of a blaspheming Jew, the property of his family was confiscated, and the *Raba' Rashídí*, a quarter which he had built, was given up to pillage. This was in 1318. The colleague who had brought destruction on Rashid survived in power for six years, and died in his bed. Abu Said then had to confess that affairs had never gone well since the removal of Rashid, and that he had sorely erred in listening to the calumniators. As some amends to his

memory the king raised Ghaiassuddin, the eldest son of Rashid, to his father's former office. He was a man of noble liberal and gentle character, but perished in the troubles which followed the death of Abu Said.

What is told of Rashid's wealth, magnificence, acquirements, and labours, reads like a bit of French romance. In addition to the sciences connected with his original profession, he had studied agriculture, architecture, and metaphysics; he was an adept in Mussulman theology and controversy; and was acquainted with Persian, Arabic, Mongol, Turki, and Hebrew. In the space of eleven months, whilst administering a great kingdom, he declares himself to have composed three important works, besides numerous minor treatises on a variety of intricate subjects. The Raba' Rashidi was a magnificent suburb, the buildings of which were laid out with great regularity and elegance; it was built entirely at his expense, as well as supplied with water by a canal which he caused to be cut through the rock. When Oljaitu founded Soltania, his minister built there also a quarter consisting of one thousand houses, with a mosque, a college, a hospital, and a monastery, and all these he furnished with considerable endowments. In the transcription and binding of copies of his own works he is said to have laid out 60,000 dinars, equal, according to Quatremère, to about £36,000.

Rashid stoutly declares the integrity and justice of his own administration, and in this he is corroborated, not merely by contemporaries, but also by the authors of the next generation.

His greatest work was called by the author the *Jamí'-ut-Tawárikh*, "Collection of Histories" or Historical Cyclopædia, which in fact it is. It contained histories of the Tartar and Turkish tribes, of Chingiz and his race, and of the Persian khans in particular, including his master Oljaitu; of various dynasties of Western Asia, of Mahomed and his companions, of the prophets of Israel, the Cæsars and other Christian princes; of China and of India. It concluded, or was intended to conclude, with a universal geography, but it is doubtful if this was ever written, though the existing portions of the work contain many geographical notices.

A general judgment cannot be formed of the worth of these

copious writings by the unlearned, for only portions and fragments have been translated. D'Ohsson, who makes much use of Rashid's *History of the Mongols*, says that though in some parts he copies from those who had gone before him, his history is altogether the most complete, and the most eminent for orderly arrangement and noble simplicity of style. Many of his facts are to be found in no other history; it is the only one which gives information as to the ancient nations of Tartary, and the ancestry of Chinghiz. He was aided with information by Púlad Chingsang, a great Mongol prince, who was the Great Khan's envoy at Tabriz, and who was said to have better knowledge of such subjects than any man living. To him, probably, he owed much of the information in the chapters here translated.

Even from such fragments as this, and those which Sir Henry Elliot has introduced in his *Biographical Index to Historians of India*, it may be gathered that Rashid had far more correct ideas of geography than any of his contemporaries with whom we have to do in this book. This indeed might have been expected from a man so accomplished, and occupying a position which was not merely that of first minister of Persia, but that of a statesman in one great branch of an empire whose relations embraced nearly all Asia with a closeness and frequency of intercourse to which there has never been an approach in later days.

In 1836 Quatremère commenced the publication of a text and translation of the *Mongol History* of Rashid, at the expense of the French government, and on a most costly and cumbrous scale. It went no further than the first volume, containing a life of Rashid and an account of his works, the author's own preface, and the history of Hulagu.

The late Mr. Morley was engaged on an English translation of the whole of the *Jamí'-ut-Tawárikh*, as may be seen from his letters in vols. vi and vii of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. But it never was published, and I am not aware what progress had been made.[1]

[1] This sketch has been derived from Quatremère, from D'Ohsson's Preface, from Mr. Morley's letters just mentioned, and from Sir H. Elliot's Index. But the last seems to draw his material from Quatremère and Morley.

CONTEMPORARY NOTICES OF CATHAY UNDER THE MONGOLS:

EXTRACTED FROM THE HISTORICAL CYCLOPÆDIA OF RASHIDUDDIN.

CATHAY is a country of vast extent and cultivated in the highest degree. Indeed the most credible authors assert that there is no country in the world to compare with it in culture and population. A gulf of the ocean, of no very great width, washes its south-eastern shores and extends along the coast between MANZI and KOLI,[1] running into Cathay so as to reach within (twenty)-four parasangs of Khanbaligh,[2] and ships come to that point. The vicinity of the sea causes frequent rain. In one part of the country the climate is a hot one, whilst in others it is cold. In his time Chinghiz Kaan had conquered the greater part of the provinces of Cathay, whilst under the reign of Oktaï Kaan the conquest of the whole was completed. Chinghiz Kaan and his sons, however, as we have said in relating their history, never took up their residence in Cathay; but after Mangu Khan had transmitted the empire to Kublai Kaan, the latter thought it not well to remain at such a distance from a country so populous, and which was reckoned to surpass all other kingdoms and countries in the world. So he fixed his residence in Cathay, and established his winter quarters in the city of Khanbaligh, which was called in the Cathayan tongue CHUNG-TU.[3]

[1] On Manzi, see note *supra*, p. 103. Koli is the Chinese Kaoli, *i.e.*, Corea and the Gulf is of course the Yellow Sea.

[2] The reading is *four* both with Klaproth and D'Ohsson. But as the real distance is *twenty-four*, the former supposes it originally stood so.

[3] *Supra*, p. 127.

This city had been the residence of the former kings. It was built in ancient times according to the indications of the most learned astrologers, and under the most fortunate constellations, which have always continued propitious to it. But as it had been destroyed by Chinghiz Kaan, Kublai Kaan desired to spread his own fame by restoring it. The city which he built was close to the former capital and was called DAÏDU.[1]

The wall of this city is flanked by seventeen towers, with intervals of a parasang between every two. The population of Daïdu is so great that even outside of the fortifications there are great streets and numerous houses. And there are extensive gardens, planted with various kinds of fruit trees brought together from every quarter. In the middle of this city Kublai Kaan established his *Ordu*, in a palace of great extent which they call the *Karsi*.[2]

The pavements and columns of this palace are all of marble or of the finest cut stone. Four walls enclose and defend it, and there is an interval of a bow-shot from one wall to the next.

The outer court is assigned to the palace-guards; the next to the nobles, who assemble there every morning; the third is occupied by the great officers of the army; and the fourth by the sovereign's most intimate associates. The picture of the palace which follows is reduced from one which was painted for his majesty Ghazan Kaan.

[*Here the original MS. seems to have had an illustration.*]

Two important rivers pass by Khanbaligh and Daïdu. After coming from the direction of the kaan's summer residence in the north, and flowing near Jamjál, they unite to form another river. A very large basin, like a lake in fact, has been dug near the city and furnished with a slip for

[1] *Supra*, p. 127.

[2] *Karsi* is a Mongol word signifying the hall in which the Emperor sits on state occasions. (*Klapr.*)

launching pleasure boats.[1] The river had formerly another channel, and discharged itself into the gulf of the ocean, which penetrated within a short distance of Khanbaligh. But in the course of time this channel had become so shallow as not to admit the entrance of shipping, so that they had to discharge their cargoes and send them up to Khanbaligh on pack-cattle. And the Chinese engineers and men of science having reported that the vessels from the provinces of Cathay, from the capital of MÁCHIN,[2] and from the cities of KHINGSAÏ and ZAITÚN no longer could reach the metropolis, the Khan gave them orders to dig a great canal, into which the waters of the said river and of several others should be introduced. This canal extends for a distance of forty days' navigation from Khanbaligh to Khingsai and Zaitun, the ports frequented by the ships that come from India and from the capital of Máchin.[2] The canal is provided with many sluices intended to distribute the water over the country; and when vessels arrive at these sluices they are hoisted up by means of machinery, whatever be their size, and let down on the other side into the water. The canal has a width of more than 30 ells. Kublai caused the sides of the embankments to be revetted with stone in order to prevent the earth giving way.[3] Along the side of the canal runs the high road to Machin, extending for a space of forty days' journey, and this has been paved throughout, so that travellers and their animals may get along during

[1] The two rivers are the Sha-ho and Peho, which unite below Peking, afterwards bearing the latter name. The lake is that called *Thaï-i-tchi* or *Si-haï-tsu*, to the east (*west*) of the imperial palace. (*K.*)

[2] Here we find the "capital of Machin" distinct from Kingssé. It is probably Chinkalan or Canton that is meant. See *supra*, p. 105. The author refers here to the extension of the Great Canal towards Peking by Kublai.

[3] The earthen embankments in this part of the canal were supported by retaining walls of coarse grey marble cut into large blocks, and cemented together with a kind of mortar. Those walls were about twelve feet in thickness, and the large stones on the top were bound together with clamps of iron." (*Staunton*, ii, 392.)

the rainy season without sticking in the mud. The two sides of the road are planted with willows and other shady trees, and no one is allowed, whether soldier or otherwise, to break branches of those trees or to let cattle feed on the leaves. Shops, taverns, and villages line the road on both sides, so that dwelling succeeds dwelling without intermission throughout the whole space of forty days' journey.

The ramparts of the city of Daïdu are formed of earth. The custom of the country in making such ramparts is first to set up planks, and then to fill in moist earth between them, ramming it hard with great wooden rammers; they then remove the planks, and the earth remains forming a solid wall. The Kaan, in his latter years, ordered stone to be brought in order to face the walls, but death intervened, and the execution of his project remains, if God permit, for Timur Kaan.

The Kaan's intention was to build a palace like that of Daïdu at KAIMINFU, which is at a distance of fifty parasangs, and to reside there.[1] There are three roads to that place from the winter-residence. The first, reserved for hunting matches, is allowed to be used only by ambassadors.[2] The second road passes by the city of CHÚ-CHÚ,[3] following the banks of the Sanghin river, where you see great plenty of grapes and other kinds of fruit.[4] Near the city just named

[1] Kaimingfu, the Kai-pingfu of the Chinese and the Clemenfu (probably miswritten for Chemenfu) of M. Polo, is at the place thirty-six leagues beyond the Great Wall, where Kublai, as here related, established his summer residence, changing the name of the town to Shangtu (*supra*, p. 134).

[2] Lord Macartney, on his way from Zhehol, found a road reserved only for the emperor. Another, parallel to it, was for the attendants of the emperor, and on this the ambassador was allowed to travel. All other travellers were excluded, and had to find a track where they could. (*Staunton*, ii, 279.)

[3] Tsocheu is a town a short distance to the south-west of Peking, on the other side of the river named, the Geogui or Giugiu of Polo.

[4] The Sanghin river is that otherwise called Lu-keu and Yungting, a

there is another called SEMALI, most of the inhabitants of which are natives of Samarkand, and have planted a number of gardens in the Samarkand style. The third road takes the direction of the Pass of Siking,[2] and after traversing this you find only prairies and plains abounding in game until you reach the city of Kaiminfu, where the summer palace is. Formerly the court used to pass the summer in the vicinity of the city of Chúchú, but afterwards the neighbourhood of Kaiminfu was preferred, and on the eastern side of that city a *karsi* or palace was built called LANGTIN, after a plan which the Kaan had seen in a dream, and retained in his memory.[3]

The philosophers and architects being consulted gave their advice as to the building of this other palace. They all agreed that the best site for it was a certain lake encompassed with meadows near the city of Kaiminfu, but for this it was necessary to provide a dry foundation. Now there is a kind of stone found in that country which is used instead of fire-wood; so they collected a great quantity of that stone and likewise of wood,[4] and filled up the lake and its springs with a mass of bricks and lime well shaken up together, running over the whole a quantity of melted tin and lead. The platform so formed was as high as a man. The water that was thus imprisoned in the bowels of the earth in the

few miles to the west of Peking, over which stood the bridge which Marco Polo describes (i. 34 of Murray). The Venetian calls the river Pulisangan, which looks very like the Persian *Pul-i-sanghin* or Stone bridge, as Marsden suggested. But as the name Sangkan-ho (said to mean River of Mulberry trees) is also recognized in Chinese books, the origin of the latter part of Marco's appellation seems doubtful (*Kl.* and *Pauth.*)

[2] Siking, Sengling, or Sengking. The hills from which the Sangkan-ho emerges are called in Klaproth's map *Shy-king*-shan. This is perhaps the name in the text.

[3] D'Ohsson has read this passage differently: "Kublai caused a palace to be built for him east of Kaipingfu, called Lengten; but he abandoned it in consequence of a dream."

[4] I.e., to burn bricks and lime.

course of time forced outlets in sundry places, and thus fountains were produced. On the foundation formed as has been described a palace in the Chinese taste was erected, and enclosed by a marble wall. From this wall starts an outer fence of wood which surrounds the park, to prevent any one from entering, and to preserve the game. Inside the city itself a second palace was built, about a bowshot from the first; but the Kaan generally takes up his residence in the palace outside the town.

In this empire of Cathay there are many considerable cities; each has its appropriate title marking a particular rank in the scale. The relative precedence of governors is indicated by that of the cities which they administer, so that there is no need to specify their dignities in the diploma of appointment, or to enter into curious questions of precedence. You know at once [by the rank of the cities to which they are attached] which ought to make way for another or to bow the knee before him. These ranks or titles are as follows: 1. *King;* 2. *Du;* 3. *Fu;* 4. *Chu;* 5. ...; 6. *Kiun;* 7. *Hien;* 8. *Chin;* 9. *Sún.*[1]

The first of these titles designates a vast tract of country, say like *Rúm*, Persia, or Baghdad. The second is applied to a province, which is the seat of an imperial residence. The others diminish in importance in like proportion; thus the seventh indicates small cities, the eighth towns, the

[1] 1. *King*, imperial capital, as in Peking, Nanking; 2. *Tu*, court or imperial residence, as Taitu, Shangtu; 3. *Fu*, a city of the first class, or rather the department of which it is the head; *Cheu*, a city of the second class, or the district of which it is the head; 5. This is blank in Klaproth's original; Von Ham. read it *Gur;* perhaps it was *Lu*, which was a special subdivision in China under the Mongols, rendered by Pauthier *circuit;* I do not understand its relation to the others, but Duhalde says it was somewhat less than a *Fu*; 6. *Kiun*, a chief military garrison; 7. *Hian*, a city of the third order, or sub-district, of which it is the head; 8. *Chin*, a small town; 9. *Tsun*, a village. The custom of naming the dignitary by the title belonging to the class of district under him still prevails in China; "as if," says Pauthier, "we were to call our Prefects *Departments* and our Sub-Prefects *Arrondissements*" (*M. P.*, p. xcvii).

ninth villages and hamlets. Ports and landing places are called *Batu*.[1]

A similar classification of governors according to the rank of their cities does not exist anywhere else, but the empire of Cathay is quite remarkable for the system with which it is organised.

NOTICE OF THE PRINCES, MINISTERS, AND SECRETARIES OF CATHAY, OF THEIR GRADATIONS IN RANK, OF THE RULES AND CUSTOMS AFFECTING THEM, AND OF THE NAMES THEY BEAR IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE COUNTRY.

The great princes who have the rank of Wazírs among those people have the title of *Chingsang*;[2] commanders in chief of the army have that of *Thaifu*; and chiefs of ten thousand soldiers are called *Wanshi*.[3]

Those Princes Wazírs and chief officers of the council who are either Tájiks,[4] native Cathayans, or Ighúrs, have the title of *Fanchán*.[5] Strictly speaking, the council of state is com-

[1] Mongol pronunciation of *Matheu*, a jetty, and hence a port. See *supra*, p. 126.

[2] This title *Chingsang* represents the Chinese *Ching-siang*, a minister of state. The name of Pulad *Chingsang*, the Great Khan's ambassador to the court of the Persian Khan, occurs frequently in D'Ohsson, who also mentions that the title of *Chingsang* was conferred on Bucai, the minister of the Persian Khan Argun, by Kublai (iv, 13). It is also the title which Marco Polo applies to Kublai's great general Bayam (or Baian) *Cinqsan*, though he strangely alleges this to mean Bayam with the Hundred Eyes (i. 62). Full particulars regarding the imperial cabinet in the time of the Mongols will be found in Pauthier's *Marc Pol*, p. 329 *seq*. The number of the Chingsiang or chief ministers varied from two to four, and on one occasion there was but one.

[3] *Wangshi*, from *Wan*, ten thousand. The termination is Mongol according to Klaproth. *Thaifu* looks like a genuine Chinese title, though I do not find it in the books on China. It is mentioned by the merchant Suleiman (*Daifú*) as the title of the governor of a first-rate city (*Relation des Voyages*, i, 37). In the late wars against the Taeping I have seen the title *Fu-tai* applied to the Imperial commander.

[4] Of Persian race.

[5] This word is read by Klaproth *Kabján*, and by Von Hammer *Tenján*. Pauthier says it should be read *Minján*, as the Mongol pronunciation of

posed of four *Chingsáng* or great officers, and of four *Fanchán*, taken from the nations of the Tajiks, Cathayans, Ighúrs, and Arkáun.[2] These latter act as inspectors on behalf of the council.

The whole gradation of dignitaries and officers of state is as follows :—

1. The Chingsáng or Wazírs.

2. The great officers of the army, who make their reports to the Chingsáng, however exalted their rank may be.

3. The *Fạnchán* or associated members of the Council of State, taken from the different nations specified.

4. *Yer Jtng* or first class *Jing*.

5. *Ur Jing* or second class *Jing*.

6. *Sam Jing* or third class *Jing*.[3]

7. Semi (?)

8. *Sisan Baljún*. These are book-keepers and of inferior consideration.

9. . . . .

In the time of Kublai Kaan the Chingsáng chosen from among the princes were Haitun Noyán, Uchaar, Oljai Tarkhan, and Dáshiman. Haitun Noyan is now no more, but the others remain in office as the Chingsáng of Timur Kaán.

the Chinese original *Ping-chang*. But this is arbitrary, and we find in D'Ohsson the real form of the word as used by Rashid, viz. *Fanchán*, which differs only by dots from Klaproth's *Kabjan*. It is also written *Panchân* by Wassaf, and by Ssanang Setzen the Mongol historian, not Minján but *Bingjing*. (See *D'Ohsson*, ii, 530, 636-7.)

According to Pauthier's statement the normal composition of the Council of State was of two Chingsiang or chief ministers; four Ping-chang, ministers of the second degree; four minister assessors, called *Yeu-ching* and *Tso-ching*; and two reporting councillors, called *Thsang-ching*, the whole number making up the twelve barons of Marco Polo.

[1] This is a word by which the Mongols designated the Nestorian Christians with whom they had relations. Its origin is very obscure, but from what Marco Polo says of the term (*Argon*) as elucidated in a learned and interesting note by Pauthier, it would seem to have meant properly a *half-breed*.

[2] These three ranks correspond to the Yeu-ching, Tso-ching, and Thsang-ching of the Chinese records (*Pauthier*).

Formerly the office of Fanchán was only bestowed on Cathayans, but it is now held also by Mongols, Tájiks, and Ighúrs.

The chief Fanchán is called Su Fanchán, or the Select Fanchan. In our day under the reign of Timúr Kaán the chief of the whole number is Báyán Fanchán,[1] the son of the Sayad Nasíruddin, who was the son of Sayad Ajal, and who bears the same title. The second, Omar Fanchán, is also a Mongol. The third, Iké Fanchán, is an Ighúr. Before him the office was filled by Lájan Fanchán, brother of his Excellency the Su Fanchán; his son is called Karmánah. The fourth Paighamísh Fanchán, whose place was formerly occupied by Timur Fanchán, is an Ighúr.

As the Kaan generally resides at the capital he has erected a place for the sittings of the Great Council, called *Sing*. According to established custom a lieutenant is appointed to the inspection and charge of the doors, and examines all the drafts of memorials[2] that are presented.

The name of the first tribunal is *In*. All the proceedings are copied and sent with the memorials to the tribunal called *Lúsah*, which is of higher rank than the other. Thence all is carried to the tribunal called *Khalyún*, and thence to the fourth, called *Kuijún*. This is the board which has charge of all that relates to the posts and despatches. The three

[1] The Sayad Ajal, a native of Bokhara, was finance minister to Kublai, and stood high in his favour. He died in 1270. His son Násiruddín was governor of Karajang (*infra*, pp. 269, 273). The grandson here spoken of, Abúbakr, surnamed Bayan Fanchan, was also minister of finance, and was called by his grandfather's title of Sayad Ajal, which was highly respected by the Mongols (*D'Ohsson*, ii, 467, 507-8). At least two other Bayans are notable in the history of Kublai's dynasty. The name *Baian* already appears as that of an Avar chief in the time of the Emperor Justin.

[2] The original word is here *Balarghúi*, which puzzled Klaproth. It is explained by Pauthier (*Marc Pol*, 331) from Schmidt's Mongol Dictionary, "*Ecrit, Mémoire peu net, avec des ratures ou phrases retranchées.*" He adds that still in China all memorials, etc., for presentation to the emperor or his council, are submitted to particular officers who correct their style.

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first mentioned tribunals are under the orders of the last; and from it business is transferred to the fifth, which bears the name of *Rusnáyi*, and which has everything that concerns the army under its charge. Lastly, the business arrives at the sixth board, which is called *Siúshtah*.[1] All ambassadors and foreign merchants when arriving and departing have to present themselves at this office, which is the one which issues orders in council and passports. In our days this office is entirely under the management of the Amír Dáshimaṇ.

When matters have passed these six boards, they are remitted to the Council of State, or *Sing*, where they are discussed, and the decision is issued after being verified by the *Khat Angusht* or "finger-signature" of all who have a right to a voice in the council. This "finger-signature" indicates that the act, to which it is attached in attestation, has been discussed and definitively approved by those whose mark has thus been put upon it.

It is usual in Cathay, when any contract is entered into, for the outline of the fingers of the parties to be traced upon the document. For experience shows that no two individuals have fingers precisely alike. The hand of the contracting party is set upon the back of the paper containing the deed, and lines are then traced round his fingers up to the knuckles, in order that if ever one of them should deny his obligation this tracing may be compared with his fingers and he may thus be convicted.

After the matter has thus passed through all the boards, and has been decided on by the supreme authority, it is sent back to the tribunal before which it first came.

The dignitaries mentioned above are expected to attend

[1] These are the six boards of administration which still exist in China, under the names of *King-Pu*, *Hing-Pu*, etc. The titles given by Rashid do not seem to attempt any imitation of the Chinese names, and are probably those in use among the Mahomedans. The third board from the top, called *Pingpu* by the Chinese, has still authority over military affairs.

daily at the Sing, and to make themselves acquainted with all that passes there. And as the business to be transacted is very extensive, the Chingsang take their part in the writing that has to be done as well as the other members of the council whose positions we have detailed. Each takes his place, according to his degree, with a kind of table and writing materials before him. Every great officer has his seal and distinctive bearings. It is the duty of certain of the clerks to write down the names of all who attend daily, in order that a deduction may be made from the allowances of those who are absent. If any one is habitually absent from the Council without valid excuse, he is dismissed.

It is the order of the Kaan that the four Chingsang make all reports to him.

The Sing of Khanbaligh is the most eminent, and the building is very large. All the acts and registers and records of proceedings of several thousands of years are there preserved. The officials employed in it amount to some two thousand.

Sing do not exist in all the cities, but only in the capitals of great provinces, which, in fact, form kingdoms ranking with Baghdad, Shiraz, Iconium, and Rúm.

In the whole empire of the Kaan there are twelve of these Sing; but that of Khanbaligh is the only one which has Chingsang among its members. The others have only dignitaries bearing the title of *Shijangí* to preside over them, aided by four Fanchan, and other members of council who have titles corresponding to their dignities.

The places where the Twelve Sing are established are, according to their respective precedence, the following:

1*st Sing*; that of KHANBALIGH or Daïdu. 2*nd*. That of the country of the CHURCHE[1] and the SOLÁNGKA which is

[1] The *Churché* are the Yuché or Niuché of the Chinese, the ancestors of the modern Manchus. *Solangka* is the Mongol name of the northern

established in the city of Múnchú, the greatest town of Solangka country. Ala-uddin, the son of Husamuddin of Almáligh, and Hassan Jujúk are in authority there. *3rd.* That of Koli[1] and Ukoli, a separate kingdom, the chief of which has the title of *Wang* (or king). Kublai gave his daughter in marriage to this prince. *4th.* Namking. This is a great city belonging to the province of Cathay, and situated on the banks of the Karamuran. It was once the residence of the (old) kings of Cathay.[2] *5th.* Sukchú, a city situated on the frontier of Cathay towards the Turks.[3] *6th.* The city of Khingsai, formerly the capital of the kingdom of Manzi. Ala-uddin Fanchan, his son Saifuddin, and Taghájar Noyan Batu Kerkháhi, are its three chiefs. Omar Khwaja son of Saï, and Bik Khwaja Thusi are the Fancháns.[4] *7th.* Fúchú.[5] This is a city of Manzi. The Sing was formerly located at Zaitun, but afterwards established here, where it still remains. The chiefs there are Ran, the brother of Dáshiman, and Hhálá the brother of Báyán Fanchan. Zaitun is a great shipping-port, and the commandant there is Boha-addin Kandári. *8th.* Lukinfu, a city of Manzi, on the frontier of Tangkút.[6] *9th.* Lúmkalí, called by the

part of Corea, and the country through which flows the Ghirinsula or upper part of the Sungari river. (*Klap.*) The Solangas are mentioned by Rubruquis, who saw their envoys at the court of Kara Korum. The "city of Munchu" is probably connected with the name of the *Manchu* tribes.

[1] *Kaoli* is the Chinese name of Corea. Koli and Akoli is not explained; it is probably one of those double jingles which Orientals are fond of inventing, like *Chin* and *Machin*.

[2] *Namking* is not our modern Nanking (which is not on the Caramuran or Hoang-ho), but Khaifungfu in Honan, which was the Nanghin of Polo, the *Nan-king* or "Southern Capital" of the Kin dynasty of Cathay or Northern China. (*Klap.*)

[3] *Sukchú*, is Sucheu in Kansu province, towards the Great Desert. We find it called Sukchu by Shah Rukh's ambassadors, and *Sowchick* by Anthony Jenkinson.

[4] Of Khingsai (Quinsai, Cansa) we have already heard and shall hear more. Note how many of these provincial governors are Mahomedans.

[5] Of Fucheu and Zaitun we have also heard in Odoric.

[6] One expects here the province of Szechuen, which is on the borders of Tangut. But the capital was *Chingtufu* (see *infra*, p. 272).

merchants CHINKALÁN. This is a city of immense size on the sea-coast to the south of Zaitun, and has a great haven. Tukai Nám and Ruknaddín Abishári Fanchan are the chief officers there.[1] 10*th*. KARÁJÁNG. This used to be an independent kingdom, and the Sing is established at the great city of Yachi. All the inhabitants are Mahomedans. The chiefs are Noyán Takín and Yakúb Beg, son of Ali Beg the Balúch.[2] 11*th*. KENJANGFU, one of the cities of Tangkút. Ananda the son of Númúghán, resides in this country, at the place called Fanchán Náúr, where he has built a palace.[3] 12*th*. Machú or Kamkhu? is also a city of Tangkút, to which immense territories are attached. Akhtaki (or Achiki)

[1] On Chinkalan (Canton) also see *Odoric*, p. 105. The other name *Lumkali* is doubtful as to reading. Von Hammer read it *Kunki*.

[2] Karajang is Yunan. In Marco Polo the modern Yunan is divided into two provinces, the capital of one of which is Jaci (Yachi) as here, and the capital of the other called by the same name as the province. In Murray's edition the former province is called *Caraian*, and the latter *Karazan*, whilst in Pauthier's publication from old French MSS. *both* provinces are called *Caraian*, and the name of Karazan does not occur. But as we see that *Karajang* was the real name of the province among the Mahomedans, it is more likely that Caraian was miswritten for Karazan than *vice versâ*. Klaproth indeed says that Yunan is still called *Karaian* by the people of central Asia, but gives no authority. The connection of this name with the *Karens* of Burma is, I suspect, as unfounded as M. Pauthier's derivation of the *Talains* of Pegu from Tali-fu. According to Pauthier Yachi is Li-Kiangfu in the north-west of Yunan, and the other capital (Karaian or Karazan) is Tali-fu. But this makes Marco's *ponent* bear the interpretation of *south*, that being nearly the direction from one city to the other. In another passage of his great work (quoted by *Quatremère*, p. xc-xcv) Rashid describes Karajang as a country of vast extent, situated between Tibet, Tangut, the Mountains of India, Mongolia, Cathay, and the country of the Zar dandán or Gilt-Teeth, of whom Polo also speaks. "The Chinese called it *Dai-liu* (Tali?), the Hindus *Kandar*, and the Persians *Kandahar*."

[3] This is *Kingchao*, now *Singanfu* in Shensi, the Quengian of Polo and Kansan of Odoric (*supra*, p. 148). According to Klaproth it was not Numughan, the fourth son of Kublai, but Mangala, his third son, who ruled in Kenchangfu, and Ananda was the son of the latter. He succeeded his father Mangala in 1280, and was put to death in 1308, having claimed the throne on the death of Timur Khan. Marco himself mentions Mangala as ruling in Kenchangfu as king. This is strictly correct, for he had the Chinese title of *Wang* or king.

dwells there. The Amir Khwaja called Yasam is chief there.[1]

[1] I suspect the true reading here should be *Kamchú*, the city of Kancheu in the province of Kansu, which Marco describes under the name of Canpicion, "chief and capital of the whole province of Tangut."

The correct division of the empire into the Twelve Sing is thus given by Pauthier and Klaproth from the annals of the Yuen dynasty:

I. The Central Province, embracing the modern Shantung, Shansi, Pecheli, Honan north of the Hoang Ho, and part of Mongolia; capital, TATU or Peking. II. Province of the Northern Mountains; cap., Holin or KARAKORUM. III. LIAOYANG, embracing the modern Liaotung, and a good deal more to the north. Cap. of same name. IV. HONAN, comprising the remainder of the modern province, with that part of Kiangnan which is north of the Kiang, and the greater part of Hukwang north of the Kiang. Cap., Pianliang, now KHAIFUNGFU. V. SHENSI, comprising the modern province with the greater part of Kansu to the right of the Hoang-ho, and part of the Ortu territory. The capital was Kingchao, now SINGANFU. VI. SZECHUEN, embraced also parts of Hukwang and Kweicheu. Cap., CHINGTU. VII. KANSUH, cap., KANCHEU. VIII. YUNNAN, the modern province with part of Kweicheu, and parts of Tibet and Burma. Cap., Chungking, *kod.*, YUNNANFU. IX. KIANGCHE, embracing Chekiang, Kiangnan south of the Kiang, and the eastern part of Kiangsi. Cap., HANGCHEUFU, called also KINGSSE, or Capital. X. KIANGSI, cap. Lunghing, now NANCHANGFU. XI. HUKWANG, cap., WUCHANG (Klaproth says *Changshafu*). XII. CHING-TUNG, which comprised the kingdom of Corea. A table will better show the discrepancies between Rashid and the Chinese official statements.

THE XII SING OF THE YUEN EMPIRE.

From Pauthier.	*From Rashid.*
1. Central Province (Tatu)	1. Khanbaligh or Daidu
2. Northern Mountains (Mongolia)	
3. Liaoyang (including Manchuria)	2. Churché and Solanka, i.e. Manchuria
4. Honan	4. Nanking
5. Shensi	11. Kenjangfu
6. Szechuen	8. Lukinfu?
7. Kansuh	12. Kamchu
8. Yunnan	10. Karajang
9. Kiangche	6. Khingsai
10. Kiangsi (cap., Lunghing)	9. Chinkalan (Canton) or Lumkali
11. Hukwang	
12. Chingtung (Corea)	3. Kaoli (Corea)
	7. Fuchu
	5. Sukchu

Fokien or Fuchu was, previous to 1285, and again at a later period, a separate province, which accounts for Rashid's making it one of the

As all these cities are widely apart from one another, there is in each a prince of the blood or other prince of eminent rank, who commands the troops and governs the people, administers public affairs and maintains the laws and regulations. The Sing of each kingdom or province is established in the chief city, and every Sing is like a little town in itself, so numerous are the buildings for the use of the various public officers, and for the multitude of attendants and slaves attached to the establishment to do petty duties under the chiefs of the subordinate offices. It is the custom in that country to remove delinquents and criminals from their houses, families and property of every description, and to employ them in carrying loads, drawing carts, or moving stones for building, according to the sentence passed upon each.

The gentlemen attached to the princes and other persons of respectability, receive each the honours which are assigned to their respective ranks, and of the ranks there are several degrees.

As for the history of former emperors since time immemorial we propose to relate it specially in the Appendix to this work, for in this place we must be brief.[1]

Towards the south-east everything is subject to the Kaan except an isle of the ocean called CHIPANGU,[2] which is not far from the coast of Churché and Kaoli. The people of that country are of short stature, with great bellies and heads sunk between their shoulders. Straight eastward all is subject to him that lies between the sea-coast and the frontier of the KIRGHIZ.[3]

Twelve Sing. Kiangsi also comprised Canton prior to 1293 (at least so I understand Klaproth). His making Sucheu on the desert frontier a separate province is perhaps a mistake altogether.

[1] All that follows is from D'Ohsson only.

[2] The *Cipangu, Zipangu* of Polo, JAPAN, from the Chinese name *Jipankwe* ("kingdom of the Rising Sun," *Pauth.*)

[3] There seems to be here some indication of an idea of the coast

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To the south-west of Manzi, on the coast between the country of Kowelaki and Zaitun, there is a thick forest, where the son of the Emperor of Manzi has taken refuge, but he is without resources and lives in indigence.[1]

To the west is the country of KAFCHÉ-KUÉ.[2] It is difficult of access, and is bounded by Karajang, by a part of India, and by the sea. It has a sovereign of its own, and includes in its territory the two cities of Lujak(?) and Jessam(?). Tugan, who commands at KUELINFU and is in occupation of Manzi, is also charged to watch the proceedings of these hostile people. He made an expedition into their country and got possession of the cities on the coast, but after his rule had lasted a week the forces began to come forth of a sudden, as it were from the sea, from the forests, from the mountains, and fell upon the soldiers of Tugan, who were engaged in plundering. Tugan made his escape, and he still resides at Kuelinfu.

To the north-west is the frontier of TIBET and of the

of China and Eastern Asia as running *west and east* rather than north and south, and I think there are traces of the same both in Polo and Odoric. The latter always goes *versus Orientem* till he reaches Cambalec.

[1] I suspect *Kowelaki* here is the same name that was previously read *Lumkali* as a synonyme of the Sin-kalan or Canton province. The two last representatives of the Sung dynasty did take refuge on the shores of that province, and there the last survivor perished in 1279. This seems to show that Rashid sometimes wrote from old information.

[2] D'Ohsson suggests that this should be read *Kanchekué*, and that it is the Cangigu of Marco. But the mention of the seacoast seems fatal to this, as Polo says specifically that Cangigu was far from the sea. Indeed there can be no question that *Kafchekue* is Lower Tungking, *Kiao-chi-kwé* of the Chinese. D'Ohsson's own History contains an account of *three* expeditions into Tunking by Tugan (a younger son of Kublai), in 1285, 1287 and 1288. The last ended very disastrously, the king of Tungking following his retreat into *Kwangsi* and beating him there. Tugan was disgraced and forbidden the court (ii, 445, 449). Kuelinfu would therefore appear to be the present capital of Kwangsi so-called, and is perhaps the proper reading for the *Lukinfu* of p. 268, though there incorrectly placed.

The two names of cities are read by Quatremère *Luchac* and *Hasam* (*Rashid*, p. xcv); he takes them for Hainan (reading *Hainam*) and Luicheu in the peninsula opposite that island.

GOLDEN-TEETH.[1] Here there are no enemies excepting on a point occupied by Kutlugh Khwaja and his army.

[1] "*Zar-dandán*" (Pers.), the name used *literatim* by Polo for this people, and a translation of the term *Kin-chí* by which they were known to the Chinese. Polo places them five days *ponent* or west of the city of Caraian (or *Carasan* of some copies), which Pauthier identifies with Tali-fu. He ascribes to them the eccentric custom, found among various wild races ancient and modern, which sends the *husband* to keep his bed for a season when the wife has given birth to a child, and fixes their chief city at *Vociam* (Yung-chang). Passages nearly but not quite identical with one another which Quatremère has quoted from the history of *Benaketi* and from another part of the *Jami'-ut-Tawárikh* of *Rashid* speak of this people. "To the south-west of Cathay," they say in substance, "lies *Karajang*, an extensive country lying between Tibet, Tangut, the mountains of India, Mongolia, Cathay, and the *Country of the Gold Teeth*. The Indians call it *Kandar*, and we (Persians, etc.) *Kandahar*, the Chinese *Dailiu* (Tali?) The king is called *Mahara* or Great Prince; the capital *Yachi* (*Jaci* of Polo). Among its people part are black (whence *Kara-Jang* or Black Jang), part white, called *Chagan-Jang* or White Jang"...It is not improbable that the Kara-Jang and Chagan-Jang (compare with Karazan of Polo) represent Black *Shâns* and White *Shâns*, and that the colours refer not to complexion but to dress. We always knew the Shans at Amarapura by their coats of *black calico*. "North-west of China is the frontier of Tibet and of the *Gold-Teeth*, who lie between Tibet and Karajang." These people cover their teeth with a gold case which they take off when they eat." There is another passage of Rashid among Elliot's extracts in which this people is mentioned, a passage which would be most interesting if the names were not so mangled. Speaking of Maabar, the historian says that two ways to China diverge thence. The first is by *Sarandip* (Ceylon), *Lámúri*, the country of *Sumatra*, and *Darband Nías*, a dependency of Java, *Champa* and *Haitam* (qu. Hainan?), subject to the Kaan, and so to *Mahachin* (Canton), *Zaitun*, and *Khinsá*. "With respect to the other road which leads from Maabar by way of Cathay, it commences at the city of *Cabal* (read *Kail*), then proceeds to the city of *Gozjú* and *Sabjú*, dependencies of Cabal, then to *Tamlifatan*, then *Karoramawár*, then to *Hawarâwún*, then to *Dakli*, then to *Bijalár*, which from of old is subject to Dehli, and at this time one of the cousins of the sultan of Dehli has conquered it and established himself, having revolted against the sultan. His army consists of Turks. Beyond that is the country of *Katban*, then *Úman*, then ZARDANDAN, so called because the people have gold in their teeth. They puncture their hands and colour them with indigo. They eradicate their beards so that they have not a sign of hair on their faces. They are all subject to the Kaan. Thence you arrive at the borders of *Tibet*, where they eat raw meat and worship images, and have no shame respecting their wives (see *Polo*, i, 44, 45).

However, the enemy is shut off from the empire in this quarter by high mountains which he cannot penetrate. Nevertheless some troops have been posted to watch this frontier.

To the north-north-west a desert of forty days' extent divides the states of Kublai from those of Kaidu and Dua.[1] This frontier extends thirty days from east to west. From point to point are posted bodies of troops under the orders of princes of the blood or other generals, and they often come to blows with the troops of Kaidu. Five of these corps are cantoned on the verge of the Desert; a sixth in the territory of Tangut, near *Chágán Naúr* (White Lake);

The air is so impure that if they ate their dinner after noon they would all die. They boil tea and eat winnowed barley." It is clear enough that the second part of this passage indicates a route to China from Coromandel by Bengal and the Indo-Chinese countries, but the names have been desperately corrupted. Tamlifatan looks very like a misreading of *Bimlifatan*, the port of *Bimlipatam*, on the coast of the N. Circars; and *Bijalár* is certainly *Bengala*, quasi-independent under Nasir-uddin, son of the Emperor Balban, and his family. *Katban* may just possibly have been a mispronunciation of *Habang*, i.e. Silhet (see Ibn Batuta *infra*); whilst *Uman* is probably the Chinese *U-man* or *Ho-man*, the name applied to one of the wild tribes of the Upper Irawadi region. Gosju and Sabju look like Chinese names, so entirely out of place that I suspect interpolation by some one misunderstanding the route; the remaining names I have tried in vain to solve in any consistent manner.

Pauthier quotes passages from the Chinese Annals showing that the office of "Direction of Frontier Protection" and the like for the Gold-Teeth territory was established in Kublai's reign, at or near Tali. But it seems to me that in his map he places this people too far to the south, and that it is pretty clear from all the passages just quoted, that they are to be placed at least as high as lat. 24°—25°, corresponding in position generally to the existing *Singphos*. (*Quatremère's Rashid*, pp. lxxxvi-xcvi; *Elliot*, p. 46; *Pauthier's Polo*, pp. 391-2, 397 *seq.*)

[1] See *ante*, p. 195. For a time at least there were two Mongol dynasties in Central Asia, between the frontier of the Great Khan and the Caspian. Kaidu, great grandson of Chinghiz through his second son and successor Okkodai, and who disputed the suzerainty with Kublai through life, represented one of these, whilst that of Chagatai was the other. See a note appended to Ibn Batuta (*infra*) "On the History of the Khans of Chagatai."

a seventh in the vicinity of Karakhoja, a city of the Uigurs,[1] which lies between the two states and maintains neutrality. This frontier ends at the mountains of Tibet. The great Desert cannot be crossed in summer, because of the want of water; in winter they have only snow-water to drink.

[1] There are at least two Lakes in Mongolia called by the name of Chagan-Nur; one the *Cyagannor* or *Cianganor* of Polo where Kublai had a palace, not far from Shangtu (*supra*, p. 134); the other lying north-east of Kamil, about lat. 45° 45′ and east long. 96°, which appears to be that here intended, as the first is far from Tangut. Karakhoja is still a town of Eastern or Chinese Turkestan, the position of which is indicated by Timkowski as south of Turfan, and one of the districts of that province (i, 386; see also *Ritter*, vii, 432, 435). It seems to have continued to be the frontier of the Chinese rule a century later under the Ming; for Shah Rukh's ambassadors, on their arrival at Karakhoja, or a short distance east of it, met the first Chinese officials, who took down a list of the party (*Not. et Extr.*, xiv, pt. 1, 389). In another passage of Rashíd, quoted by Quatremère, he says: "When you descend below the Chagan Naur, you are near the city of Karakhoja in the Uigur country, where they have good wine (*Ib.*, p. 235).

IV.

PEGOLOTTI'S NOTICES OF THE LAND ROUTE TO CATHAY.

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NOTICES OF THE LAND ROUTE TO CATHAY AND OF ASIATIC TRADE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

BY FRANCIS BALDUCCI PEGOLOTTI.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICES.

THE original of the curious work from which the extracts in the following pages are derived, was first published as an appendix to an anonymous book called "*A Treatise on the* Decima *and the various other burdens imposed on the community of Florence; also on the currency and commerce of the Florentines up to the Sixteenth Century.* (In four vols., 4to.) Lisbon and Lucca, 1765-66." (*Della Decima*, etc.). The imprint is fictitious, as the work was really published at Florence, and the author was Gian Francesco Pagnini del Ventura of Volterra.[1]

The work of Pegolotti occupies the whole of the third volume. It was taken by Pagnini from a MS., apparently unique, in the Riccardian Library at Florence, called by the author (*Libro di Divisamenti di Paesi*, etc.) "*The Book of the Descriptions of Countries*,"[2] etc., though Pagnini gave it the more descriptive title of

[1] *Canonico Moreni, Bibliografia Storico-Ragionata della Toscana*, ii, p. 144-5. Pagnini was born at Volterra in 1715, and studied law at Rome. He filled a succession of considerable offices connected with Finance and Agricul[illegible]ler the Tuscan Government, and died in 1789. There is a mon[illegible]ıd bust erected by his friends in the cloister of S. Annunziata and [illegible]r Maggiore at Florence. Besides the work named above he published in cooperation with Angelo Tavanti (1751) a translation of Locke upon Interest and the Value of Money, with a dissertation of his own on the True Price of Things, on Money, and on the commerce of the Romans. He also published letters on agricultural subjects, and was the editor of *Applausi Poetici per la gloriosa Esaltazione all' Augusto Trono Imperiale di Francesco III, Granduca di Toscana*," Firenze, 1745. (See *Scritt. Cla... Ital. di Economia Politica, Pte. Moderna*, tom. II; and *Moreni*, u.s.)

[2] I imagine this to be the proper translation of *Divisamenti* here, as Marco Polo's book is in some copies termed "*Divisement des Diversités*," etc. (*Pauthier*, p. 33).

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Pratica della Mercatura. Baldelli Boni, writing some forty years ago, says that the manuscript could no longer be found in the Riccardiana. However it is to be found there now and I have examined it. It is a handsome paper folio, purporting to have been transcribed by the hand of Filippo di Nicolaio di Frescobaldi at Florence in the year 1471, and bears the No. 2441 in the collection.

Nothing is known of the author, Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, except what is gathered from his own book. From it we learn that he was a factor in the service of the Company of the Bardi of Florence. In various incidental statements also he lets us know that he was at Antwerp in their service from 1315 (and probably earlier) to 1317, when he was transferred to London;[1] and that he was employed in Cyprus from May 1324 to August 1327, for at those and intermediate dates he made sundry applications to the King of Cyprus for the reduction of duties payable by his countrymen, who had previously been liable to heavier duties than the Pisans, and had consequently been obliged to employ their agency. Balducci, indignant at the conduct of the Pisans, who treated the Florentines, he says, "like Jews or slaves of theirs," made these successful efforts to get rid of this obligation.[2]

In 1335 the author was still at Cyprus, or had returned thither, and obtained in that year from the King of Lesser Armenia a grant of privileges to the company which he served for their trade at Aiazzo or Aias, the port of that kingdom on the Gulf of Scanderoon.[3]

[1] *Pegolotti*, p. 257. [2] P. 71.

[3] P. 45. Aiazzo, or Aias, the ancient Ægæ, opposite Issus, is mentioned several times by Marco Polo as *Laias*. Whilst Persia was in the hands of the Mongols a great part of the Indian trade came by Baghdad to Tabriz, and thence by the route detailed in Pegolotti's chapter vi to Aiazzo for shipment. The port was in the hands of the Christian princes called the Kings of Little Armenia, whose dynasty was founded in the mountains of Cilicia in the year 1080, by Rupen, a kinsman of the last King of Armenia Proper of the race of the Bagratidæ. Rupen's ninth successor, Leon II, got the title of king from Pope Celestine III and the Emperor Henry VI in the end of the twelfth century, and the line continued till 1342. The kingdom endured thirty-three years longer under

The Bardi[1] failed in 1339, owing to their unprofitable dealings with the King of England (Edward III). They and the Company of the Peruzzi were the "king's merchants," or as we should now say, bankers and agents, receiving all his rents and incomings in wool and the like, whilst meeting all his demands for cash and stores. But these last so much exceeded the receipts on his account that there was a balance due from him of 180,000 marks sterling to the Bardi, and 135,000 marks to the Peruzzi, each mark being equal to four and a half gold florins, so that the bad debt amounted on the whole to 1,365,000 florins, "che valeano un reame," as the Florentine chronicler says. Much of the money advanced consisted of the deposits of citizens and foreigners (including English), and the stoppage of payment was a great blow to Florentine commerce and to credit generally. The Bardi however seem to have got on their legs again sufficiently to fail a second time in 1345, for the sum of 550,000 florins.[2] Whether they recovered from this second failure I do not know, but other circumstances referred to by the author of the *Decima* fix the date of Pegolotti's book to about 1340. It could not of course have been written earlier than the last year of residence in Cyprus to which he makes the reference quoted above, and it must have been written before the death of King Robert of Naples, of the house of Anjou, whom he speaks of in one passage as still reigning.[3] That event occurred in 1343.

Pegolotti's Handbook, for it is just such, is purely mercantile

kings of the house of Lusignan. In the time of Haiton or Hethum I, when it was perhaps most flourishing, it embraced all Cilicia, with many cities of Syria, Cappadocia, and Isauria. The institutions of this country were a curious compound, uniting an Armenian church and nationality with Greek legislation, and the feudal institutions and social gradations of the Franks. The capital was at *Sis*, where there are still an Armenian population and an Armenian monastery and patriarch. (See papers by *Dulaurier* in *Jour. As.*, ser. v, tom. xvii and xviii; *Ib.*, v, 262; *D'Ohsson*, ii, 310; *St. Martin, Mem. sur l'Armenie*, vol. i.)

[1] This house gave a husband to Dante's Beatrice;—and a heroine to George Elliott in Romola!

[2] *Della Decima; Giov. Villani, Istoria Fiorentina*, bk. xi, ch. 87. The English gold florin was coined in 1343 to weigh 2 Florentine florins, and to be worth 6*s*. (See *Akermann's Num. Manual*, p. 267.) Hence 4½ Fl. florins = 13*s*. 6*d*., or a little over a mark. But 13*s*. 6*d*. represented three times as much silver as now.

[3] "*Questo Re Uberto*," p. 186.

in its bearings, and even in those parts which are not mere lists or figured statements is written in the dryest and most inartificial style, if style it can be called. Devoting successive chapters to the various ports and seats of traffic of his time, and proceeding from the Asiatic coasts of the Mediterranean westward, he details the nature of the exports and imports, the duties and exactions, the customs of business appropriate to each locality, as well as the value of the moneys weights and measures of each country in relation to those of the places with which they chiefly had to deal. Rude essays on various practical matters are interspersed and appended.

The book might have slept as undisturbed under the unattractive title of Pagnini's quartos, as it had done for centuries in manuscript on the shelves of the Florentine libraries, had not the Germans Forster and Sprengel got scent of it and made it the subject of some comment in their geographical works.[1]

Their comments refer to the first two chapters of Pegolotti, the most interesting of the whole, and which I shall give unabridged. I shall also give one or two chapters that follow, having more or less bearing on our subject, and a few additional extracts where the matter seems of sufficient interest.

The notices of Sprengel seem to have furnished the source from which nearly all later writers who have touched on Pegolotti have derived their information, as is shown by their copying an error of the press which makes him in Sprengel's book *Pegoletti*. Even Humboldt, Remusat, and Ritter do this, and the latter assumes besides that Pegolotti had himself made the journey to Cathay, which he describes. For this assumption there is not the slightest ground.[2] It is evident indeed from the

[1] See *Forster, Hist. des Découvertes et des Voyages dans le Nord* (Fr. Trans.), Paris, 1788, p. 242 *et seq.*; and *Geschichte der Wichtigsten Geog. Entdeckungen*, etc., von *M. C. Sprengel* (2nd ed.), Halle, 1792. I suppose that Sprengel's first edition preceded Forster, as the former says (p. 253) that no one had yet made use of Pegolotti in the history of the Chinese trade. The original of these two chapters is given in App. III.

[2] See *Erdkunde*, ii, 404, and posthumous *Lectures on the Hist. of Geography*, Berlin, 1861, p. 220. These errors are probably derived from Malte Brun (see *D'Avezac*, p. 423). Even the *Biographie Universelle* speaks positively of Pegolotti's having visited all the places mentioned by him

terms of the account that the road to Cathay was not unfrequently travelled by European merchants in his day, and from some of these Pegolotti had obtained the notes which he communicates, as he himself in one passage distinctly intimates.[1]

The fourth volume also of Pagnini's work is occupied by a later book of character similar to that of Pegolotti's, written in 1440 by Giovanni di Antonio da Uzzano, under the name of *Libro di Gabelli e Paesi e Misure di più e diversi Luoghi*, etc. At that date direct intercourse with Eastern Asia had long been interrupted, and the book has nothing of interest to extract for this collection. It contains, however, among other matters, some curious lists of the duties on a vast variety of wares at the different Italian marts, and a treatise containing sailing directions for the Mediterranean.

Pegolotti's book begins as follows:

IN THE NAME OF THE LORD, AMEN!

THIS book is called the Book of Descriptions of Countries and of measures employed in business, and of other things needful to be known by merchants of different parts of the world, and by all who have to do with merchandize and exchanges; showing also what relation the merchandize of one country or of one city bears to that of others; and how one kind of goods is better than another kind; and where the various wares come from, and how they may be kept as long as possible.

The book was compiled by Francis Balducci Pegolotti of Florence, who was with the Company of the Bardi of Florence, and during the time that he was in the service of

on the route to Cathay, and adds: "Independent of the route which he followed in going to China, Pegolotti describes also that of the caravans which without doubt he followed in returning from the Indies to the Mediterranean." This is grievous inaccuracy. Pegolotti never was in China, and describes no such return route as is here indicated. The nearest approach to it is the list of tolls between Aiazzo and Tabriz in his chapter vi.

[1] "*Secondo che si conta per gli mercatanti che l'hanno usato*," is his expression with regard to the road in question.

the said Company, for the good and honour and prosperity of the said Company, and for his own, and for that of whosoever shall read or transcribe the said book. And this copy has been made from the book of Agnolo di Lotto of Antello, and the said book was transcribed from the original book of the said Francesco Balducci.

This is followed by several pages of explanations of abbreviations and technicalities of different countries, which are used in the book. Thus:

Tamunga in Tauris,[1] and throughout Persia, at Trebizond, at Caffa, and throughout all the cities of the Tartars; *Pesadone* in Armenia;[2] *Doana*,[3] in all the cities of the Saracens, in Sicily, in Naples, and throughout the kingdom of Apulia; *Piazza, Fondaco*,[4] *Bindanajo*, also throughout all Sicily and

[1] *Tunisi* is printed in the *Decima*, but unquestionably it should be *Torisi*. *Tamungha* no doubt stands for *Tamgha*, a name which was applied to all customs and transit duties under the Mongol Khans of Persia. (See *D'Ohsson*, iv, 373, 386.) The word meant *a seal*, and going still further back was the term applied to the distinguishing brands of cattle among the Mongols. (*V. Hammer, Gold. Horde*, 220.) When Sultan Baber was engaged in a holy war with the Rajput Rana Sanga, he made one of his great abjurations of wine, and vowed that he would renounce the *Tamgha* if victorious. Accordingly he published a firman, solemnly announcing his repentance, and declaring that in no city or town, on no road or street or passage should the *Tamgha* be received or levied. The translators render it *stamp-tax*, but the passages in D'Ohsson, as well as Baber's words, seem to show that it was a transit duty. (*Baber*, p. 356.)

[2] Among documents of the kingdom of Lesser Armenia quoted in Dulaurier's papers referred to above, we find *Pasidum* and *Pasidonum*, with the meaning of *Customs*, custom-house, and *Capitaneus Pasidoneus de Ayacio*, as the appellation of the chief of the custom-house in that port. (*J. As.*, ser. v, tom. xviii, 326, 327.) *Pasidonum* is a Latinization of the Armenian *Pájdún*, from *páj*, toll or customs, a word still existing in that language. (*St. Martin*, in *Notices et Extraits*, xi, 115, 117.)

[3] *Doana*, or in modern Italian *Dogana*, is believed to be from the Arabic *Dewán*, "council, council-hall, tribunal." Giov. da Uzzano spells it Dovana, which seems somewhat to confirm this derivation. (*Della Dec.*, iv, 119)

[4] Some of these seem to be names of particular payments, not of *duties* or *customs* in general; *piassa*, probably a market tax; *fondaco*, payment for warehousing, which he elsewhere calls *fondacaggio*. *Alfandega*, however, is custom-house in Portuguese.

the kingdom of Apulia; *Comerchio* in all the cities of the Greeks, and in Cyprus;[1] *Dazio* at Venice; *Gabella* throughout Tuscany; *Spedicamento* and *Pedaggio* at Genoa; *Chiaveria*[2] throughout Provence; *Lelda*,[3] in part of Provence and in France; *Malatolta*,[4] *Pedaggio*, and *Bara*[5] throughout all France; *Toloneo*[6] throughout Flanders; *Foveo* (?) throughout Brabant; *Costuma* throughout the Island of England; *Fedo*[7] at Tunis in Barbary; *Munda* in Friuli; *Mangona* and *Talaoch* in Spain;[8]

[1] **Κομμέρκιον** and **κουμέρκιον**, *Tributum, Vectigal pro mercimoniis exsolvi solitum* will be found in Ducange. (*Gloss. Græcitatis*, etc.) From the Greeks the word passed to the Turks and Arabs, see in *Freytag's Lexicon* گمرك. We also find in the Genoese version of a treaty with the Tartars of Gazaria, A.D. 1380, *Comerho* and *Comerha* for customs and custom-house. (*Not. et Ext.*, xi, 54, 57.)

[2] Some of these are probably slang. *Chiaveria*, key-money?

[3] Perhaps should be *Leuda*, which we find mentioned by Giovanni da Uzzano (p. 162) as the name of a tax at Barcelona paid by buyers or sellers not being freemen of the city. *Leuda, Lesda*, or *Ledda*, according to Ducange, is any duty, especially one paid on merchandize.

[4] *Malatolta*, according to the same authority, is an arbitrary exaction forcibly taken under the name of duty or customs. He quotes among other examples a charter of Philip the Fair to the people of Bordeaux, which speaks of "*Assisium seu costumam quæ in illo loco et locis circumvicinis* Malatolta *vulgariter nuncupatur;*" and one also of Peter of Castille which introduces the terms in the text preceding and following: "*Sint immunes ab omni* pedagio, leudâ, costumâ, malatoltâ, *seu aliis quibusdam impositionibus.*" The original for taxes and customs at p. 240 *supra* is *truuaiges et malestoultes*. The term shows just the same state of feeling that led the people in the North-West Provinces of India to apply to the tolls that used to be levied on the Grand Trunk Road, the terms *Lút* (plunder) and *Zulm* (oppression).

[5] Tolls were called *Barræ*, especially such as were levied at the gates and *barriers* of towns (*Ducange*).

[6] "Telon, Teloneum, *Toloneum*, Toll, Tolnetum, etc., *Tributum* de mercibus *marinis circa littus acceptum*" (*Ducange*). Our English word *Toll*.

[7] *Arab.* "*fadá*, Res quâ aliquis redimitur et liberatur" (Freytag). In a treaty between the Genoese and the Soldan of Babylon (Egypt) in 1290, we find the following: "*Item quod Januenses non compellantur nec compelli debeant ad solvendum...nec* feda *nec aliquid aliud,*" etc. (*Notices et Extraits*, xi, 39.) The word may have had a specific application in the custom-houses which has escaped the lexicographers.

[8] On *Talaoch* my friend Mr. Badger says: "This is probably from the Arabic اطلاق (*Itláq*), meaning *releasing*, setting free. It might have been

All these names mean *duties* which have to be paid for goods and wares, and other things, imported to or exported from, or passed through the countries and places detailed in this paragraph.

Mercato in Tuscan; and *Piazza*[1] in several tongues; *Bazarra* and *Raba* in Genoese;[2] *Fondaco* in several languages; *Foda* in Cyprus; *Alla*[3] in Flemish; *Sugo* in Saracenesque;[4] *Fiera* in Tuscan and several other tongues; *Panichiero* in Greek;[5]

All signify the place where goods are sold in cities, and where in towns and villages all manner of victuals and necessaries for the life of man are brought for sale, with corn and cattle which are brought there continually at certain fixed times of the week, or month, or year.

These may suffice as specimens.

Then some doggrel verses to the following purport introduce the body of the work.

"Honesty is always best
And to look before ye leap:
Do ever what thou promisest;
And, hard though it may be, still keep
Fair chastity. Let reason tell
Cheap to buy and dear to sell,
But have a civil tongue as well.
Frequent the church's rites, and spare
To Him who sends thy gains a share.
So shalt thou prosper, standing by one price,
And shunning pest-like usury and dice.
Take aye good heed to govern well thy pen,
And blunder not in black and white! AMEN!

applied to the stamp or certificate by which goods were declared to be free after payment of customs. I am not aware that the word is used in that sense now." This suggestion is strengthened by the analogous use of *Fadá* in the preceding note, and by the fact that Pegolotti in a later passage calls it *Intalacca*, an export duty levied in the ports of Morocco. By *Spain* he means the Moorish ports on both sides of the strait, as his details show (pp. 278 *seqq.*).

[1] *Piazza* is commonly used for *mercato* in Palermo, where this note is written.

[2] I do not know what *Raba* is, unless (like *Basarra*) borrowed from the Arabic *Raba'*, "a quarter" (see under Rashiduddin, *supra*, p. 25).

[3] The French *Halle*. [4] *Arab. Súq.*

[5] This must be παντηγύριον, which has the meaning of a fair or market in Byzantine Greek (*Ducange*).

CHAPTER I.

Information regarding the journey to Cathay, for such as will go by Tana and come back with goods.

IN the first place, from TANA to GINTARCHAN[1] may be twenty-five days with an ox-waggon, and from ten to twelve days with a horse-waggon. On the road you will find plenty of *Moccols*, that is to say, of *gens d'armes*.[2] And from Gittarchan to SARA may be a day by river, and from Sara to SARACANCO,[3] also by river, eight days. You can do this either by land or by water; but by water you will be at less charge for your merchandize.

From Saracanco to ORGANCI may be twenty days' journey in camel-waggon. It will be well for anyone travelling with

[1] *Gintarchan*, or as below less incorrectly *Gittarchan*, is Astracan, though according to Sprengel the old city destroyed by Timur in 1395 was further from the Caspian than the present one. It is mentioned by Rubruquis in the preceding century as Summerkeur or Summerkent, most probably a clerical error for *Sittarkent*, and in this century it was the seat of a Minorite convent. The original name was *Haj-*, or *Hajji-Tarkhan*. Ibn Batuta says it was so called after a devout Haj who established himself there, in consideration of which the prince exempted the place from all duties, *Tarkhan*, he says, signifying a *place free from duties*. This is a mistake, however, for *Tarkhan* among the Mongols denoted a *person*, the member of an order enjoying high privileges, such as freedom from all exactions, the right to enter the sovereign's presence unsummoned, and exemption from punishment for crime till a ninth time convicted. D'Ohsson quotes the mention of this title by a Greek author as old as the time of the Emperor Justin. (*Ibn Batuta*, ii, 410, and Edr's. note, 458; *D'Ohsson*, i, 45, etc.) In the Carta Catalana and Portulano Mediceo the place appears as *Agitarcham*; in Fra Mauro's Map as *Asetrechan*; by Barbaro and others, up to the middle of the sixteenth century, we find it called *Citracan*.

[2] *Moccoli* are in another passage explained by Pegolotti to be *Tartari scherani*, bandits or troopers. The word is, I suppose, simply *Mongols*, or rather as called in Western Asia *Moghols*, which will be almost the Tuscan pronunciation of *Moccol*. Indeed the word is called by the Armenians *Muchal* (*Neumann's Chron. of Vahram*, p. 88).

[3] On *Sarai* see *supra*, p. 231. Saracanco appears to be unquestionably *Sarachik*, on which, and on *Organci* or Urghanj, see pp. 232, 234.

merchandize to go to Organci, for in that city there is a ready sale for goods. From Organci to OLTRARRE[1] is thirty-five to forty days in camel-waggons. But if when you leave Saracanco you go direct to Oltrarre, it is a journey of fifty days only, and if you have no merchandize it will be better to go this way than to go by Organci.

From Oltrarre to ARMALEC[2] is forty-five days' journey with pack-asses, and every day you find Moccols. And from Armalec to CAMEXU[3] is seventy days with asses, and from Camexu until you come to a river called . . . . . is forty-five days on horseback; and then you can go down the river to CASSAI,[4] and there you can dispose of the *sommi*[5] of silver

[1] Oltarre is Otrár, previously called Faráb, a city of Turkestan, of which it was once considered the capital. It stands, or stood (for there seems no recent knowledge of it) on a tributary of the Sihun or Jaxartes, about two leagues from that river, about lat. 44° 30', some distance west of the town called Turkestan in the maps. Its capture by Chinghiz in 1219 was the commencement of his Western conquests; and it was at Otrar that the great Timur died, 17th February, 1405. Haiton calls the city *Octorar*, the greatest city of Turkestan. It stood on the frontier, between the Khanates of Kapchak and Zagatai.

[2] See p. 236.

[3] Camexu (i.e. *Camechu*) is considered by Foster to be Hami or Kamil, with the Chinese *chu* added. But there can be no doubt that it is the Chinese frontier city *Kanchu* in Kansu. That city is called by Rashid-eddin and by the author of Mesalak al-Absar *Kamchu*, so that the Western Asiatics called it just as Pegolotti does. Moreover the latter author allows only forty days from Almálik (Armalec) to Kamchu, showing that the time named by Pegolotti is most ample allowance. The same author allows forty days from Kamchu to Khanbalik (*Notices et Extraits*, xiii, 226).

[4] Forster chooses to consider Cassai to be a place called Kissen, on the Hoang Ho. It is not worth while to look if there is such a place, for Cassai is obviously Quinsai, Cansai, Kingszé, the commercial city of China at that time, *hod.* Hangcheufu. It is called Cassai in the Portulano Mediceo and *Cassay* in the "Livre du Grant Caan" (*supra*, p. 244).

The river reached in forty-five days from Kancheu is most probably the Great Canal. Forster, according to Baldelli Boni (I presume in some later edition of his work than that used by me) supplies the blank with *Karamuren* from a MS. that belonged to Sprengel. But this is of no authority, for the blank exists in the original MS. in the Riccardian library.

[5] *Sommi* of silver is written in the MS. *sonmi*, and is so printed by

that you have with you, for that is a most active place of business. After getting to Cassai you carry on with the money which you get for the *sommi* of silver which you sell there; and this money is made of paper, and is called *balishi*. And four pieces of this money are worth one *sommo* of silver in the province of Cathay.[1] And from Cassai to Gama-

Pagnini. But it is a mere fashion of writing. Pegolotti writes also *chanmino, chanmello, fenmina*, but Pagnini does not print these so. Indeed Giovanno da Uzzano (p. 188) writes *sommi*. The *sommo*, as explained in the next chapter, was a silver ingot weighing eight and a half Genoese ounces. Ibn Batuta mentions these as current among the Tartars under the name of *saum*, sing. *saumah*. He says the weight of each saumah or sommo was five ounces, i.e., I suppose, five-twelfths of a *rithl* (ii, 412, 414). Von Hammer says that the *súm* (as he terms it) was in the form of an octahedron, and quotes from the Persian historian Wassaf a passage which shows that the term was applied also to ingots of gold (*Geschichte der Gold. Horde*, pp. 223, 224).

[1] Here Pegolotti speaks of the celebrated paper money of China, once deemed a fable of Marco Polo's, though before his time even it had been distinctly mentioned by the intelligent friar Rubruquis.

Its use was of great antiquity, for traces at least of leather representatives of money are found as far back as B.C. 119. In the reign of Hiantsung of the Thang dynasty (A.D. 806-821), copper being scarce, notes were issued on deposits from the public treasury, and were current for some years. These issues were renewed under the Sung (A.D. 960), and some sixty years later amounted in nominal value to 2,830,000 ounces of silver. These were followed by further issues of real paper money, issued without reference to deposits (? so says Klaproth), and payable every three years. The business at this time was managed by sixteen chief houses, but these becoming bankrupt, the emperor abolished private notes, and established a government bank, the issues of which in 1032 amounted to 1,256,340 ounces. Such banks were established in several parts of the empire, the notes of one province not being current in another.

In 1160, in the reign of Kaotsung, a new paper was issued, the amount of which rose in six years to 43,600,000 ounces. There were local notes besides, so that the empire was flooded with paper, rapidly depreciating in value.

When the invaders who formed the *kin* or Golden dynasty had established themselves in Northern China they also speedily took to paper, notwithstanding their name. Their notes had a course of seven years, after which new notes were given by government with a deduction of 15 per cent.

The Mongols did like their predecessors. Their first notes were issued in 1236, but on a small scale compared to the issues of Kublai and his successors. Kublai's first issue was in 1260; and consisted of notes of

lec [Cambalec], which is the capital city of the country of Cathay, is thirty days' journey.

three classes; viz., notes of *tens*, i.e. of 10, 20, 30, and 50 *tsien* or cash; notes of hundreds, of 100, 200, and 500 *tsien*; and notes of *strings* or thousands of cash, viz. of 1000 and 2000. This money, however, was worth only half its nominal value, so that two notes of 1000 cash went for an ounce of pure silver. There were also notes printed on silk, for 1, 2, 3, 5 and 10 ounces each, valued at par in silver; but these would not circulate. In 1277 Kublai made a new issue of very small notes; and a complete new currency in 1288. One of these new notes was as before worth half its nominal value in silver, but was to be exchanged against *five* of equal nominal value of the old notes!

In 1309 a new issue took place with a like valuation; i.e., one ounce note of this issue was to exchange against five of Kublai's last issue, and therefore against twenty-five of his older notes! And it was at the same time prescribed that the new notes should exchange at par with metals, which of course it was beyond the power of government to enforce, and so the notes were abandoned.

Issues continued from time to time to the end of the Mongol dynasty, but according to the Chinese authors with credit constantly diminishing. This depreciation might easily escape Odoric, but it is curious that it should be so entirely ignored by Pegolotti, whose informants must have been mercantile men. In fact he asserts positively that there was no depreciation. (*See below.*)

The remarks of Matwanlin, a medieval Chinese historian, on this subject are curiously like a bit of modern controversy: "Paper should never be *money*; it should only be employed as a representative sign of value existing in metals or in produce, which can thus be readily exchanged for paper, and the cost of its transport avoided. At first this was the mode in which paper currency was actually used among merchants. The government, borrowing the invention from private individuals, wished to make a real *money* of paper, and thus the original contrivance was perverted."

The Ming dynasty for a time carried on the system of their predecessors, and with like results, till in 1448 the *chao*, or note, of 1000 cash, was worth but 3! Barbaro still heard of the paper money of Cathay from travellers whom he met at Azov about this time, but after 1455 there is said to be no more mention of it in Chinese history.

Though the government of China has not issued paper money since then, there has been considerable local use of such currency among the people, even in our own time. In Fucheu some years ago it had almost displaced bullion, and in that city the banking houses were counted by hundreds. Though the system was under no efficient control, few notes were below par, and failures of any magnitude were rare. The notes were chiefly from copper plates (and such notes were engraved in China as early as 1168) and ranged in value from 110 cash to 1000 dollars.

Kaikhátu Khan of Persia was persuaded to attempt the introduction

CHAPTER II.

Things needful for merchants who desire to make the journey to Cathay above described.

In the first place, you must let your beard grow long and not shave. And at Tana you should furnish yourself with a dragoman. And you must not try to save money in the matter of dragomen by taking a bad one instead of a good one. For the additional wages of the good one will not cost you so much as you will save by having him.[1] And besides the dragoman it will be well to take at least two good men servants, who are acquainted with the Cumanian tongue. And if the merchant likes to take a woman with him from Tana, he can do so; if he does not like to take one there is

of a paper currency under the Chinese name (*chao*) in 1294. After most expensive preparations in erecting offices in every province, etc., the scheme utterly failed, the shops and markets of Tabriz were deserted, and the *chao* had to be given up. Mahomed Tughlak of Dehli fared no better in a somewhat similar project some thirty-five years later. In Japan bank-notes were introduced about 1319-1327, but in that country they always represented considerable sums. They continued to exist in the last century, and perhaps do still.

The notes of the Sung, Kin, and Mongol dynasties were all made with the bark of the paper mulberry. Those of the first two were only printed with characters and sealed; the last were also ornamented.

A note of the Ming dynasty is figured in *Duhalde*, ii, 168. It is for 1000 cash, and bears the following inscription: "On the request of the Board of Treasurers, it is ordered that paper money thus impressed with the imperial seal have currency the same as copper money. Forgers shall lose their heads, and informers shall receive a reward of 250 *taels*, with the criminal's goods. In such a year and month of the reign of Hong-Vu." (*Klaproth* in *Mem. Rel. à l'Asie*, i, 375-388; *Biot*, in *J. A.*, ser. iii, tom. iv; *Parkes*, in *J. R. A. S.*, xiii, 179; *D'Ohsson*, iv, 53; *Elphinstone's Hist. of India*, ii, 62). Another and probably more exact account of the history of paper-money under the Mongols will be found in Pauthier's new *Marco Polo*, but time does not allow me to benefit by it.

Regarding the *balish*, see note to *Odoric*, p. 115.

[1] The Italian here is very obscure and probably defective, but this seems the general sense; or perhaps, "so much as the greed of the other will cause you loss."

no obligation, only if he does take one he will be kept much more comfortably than if he does not take one. Howbeit, if he do take one, it will be well that she be acquainted with the Cumanian tongue as well as the men.[1]

And from Tana travelling to Gittarchan you should take with you twenty-five days' provisions, that is to say, flour and salt fish, for as to meat you will find enough of it at all the places along the road. And so also at all the chief stations noted in going from one country to another in the route, according to the number of days set down above, you should furnish yourself with flour and salt fish; other things you will find in sufficiency, and especially meat.

The road you travel from Tana to Cathay is perfectly safe, whether by day or by night, according to what the merchants say who have used it. Only if the merchant, in going or coming, should die upon the road, everything belonging to him will become the perquisite of the lord of the country in which he dies, and the officers of the lord will take possession of all.[2] And in like manner if he die in Cathay. But if his brother be with him, or an intimate friend and comrade calling himself his brother, then to such an one they will surrender the property of the deceased, and so it will be rescued.

And there is another danger: this is when the lord of the country dies, and before the new lord who is to have the lordship is proclaimed; during such intervals there have sometimes been irregularities practised on the Franks, and other foreigners. (They call *Franks* all the Christians of these parts from Romania westward).[3] And neither will the

[1] The Cumanian was apparently a Turkish dialect.

[2] This custom seems to have prevailed very generally (see *Sto. Stephano* in *India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 7). It was also the law of Lesser Armenia unless a subject of the kingdom was left heir (*J. As.*, ser. v, tom. xviii, 346).

[3] Romania means Greece, or nearly so. By Giov. da Uzzano the Morea and the isle of Scio are both spoken of as belonging to Romania (pp. 89

roads be safe to travel until the other lord be proclaimed who is to reign in room of him who is deceased.

Cathay is a province which contained a multitude of cities and towns. Among others there is one in particular, that is to say the capital city, to which is great resort of merchants, and in which there is a vast amount of trade; and this city is called Cambalec. And the said city hath a circuit of one hundred miles, and is all full of people and houses and of dwellers in the said city.

You may calculate that a merchant with a dragoman, and with two men servants, and with goods to the value of twenty-five thousand golden florins, should spend on his way to Cathay from sixty to eighty *sommi* of silver, and not more if he manage well; and for all the road back again from Cathay to Tana, including the expenses of living and the pay of servants, and all other charges, the cost will be about five *sommi* per head of pack animals, or something less. And you may reckon the *sommo* to be worth five golden florins.[1] You may reckon also that each ox-waggon will require one ox, and will carry ten cantars Genoese weight; and the camel-waggon will require three camels, and will carry thirty cantars Genoese weight; and the horse-waggon will require one horse, and will commonly carry six and half cantars of silk, at 250 Genoese pounds to the cantar. And a bale[2] of silk may be reckoned at between 110 and 115 Genoese pounds.

and 160). And the expression in the text (*tutti i Christiani delle parti di Romania innansi in verso il ponente*) seems to *include* Romania. Yet I do not think the Greeks were or are regarded as Franks.

[1] Taking the gold florin or ducat at 9s. 6d., the value of the goods will be nearly £12,000 and the cost of the merchant's journey from £140 to £190 going, and nearly £12 a head on his beasts coming back.

[2] *Scibetto.* I cannot trace this word in any dictionary, but it looks like Arabic. The nearest thing I can find is *sibt*—hides of ox leather (*Freytag*). It is possible that the silk may have been packed in such. From India and China now it is generally packed in mats. Pegolotti writes it in another place in the plural *iscibetti*, with *fardelli* as synonymous (p. 131). The Genoese pound of twelve ounces was equal to about $\frac{4}{5}$ of the London pound ($\frac{192}{144}$), as we learn from Pegolotti in another part of his book.

You may reckon also that from Tana to Sara the road is less safe than on any other part of the journey; and yet even when this part of the road is at its worst, if you are some sixty men in the company you will go as safely as if you were in your own house.

Anyone from Genoa or from Venice, wishing to go to the places above-named, and to make the journey to Cathay, should carry linens[1] with him, and if he visit Organci he will dispose of these well. In Organci he should purchase *sommi* of silver, and with these he should proceed without making any further investment, unless it be some bales of the very finest stuffs which go in small bulk, and cost no more for carriage than coarser stuffs would do.

Merchants who travel this road can ride on horseback or on asses, or mounted in any way that they list to be mounted.

Whatever silver the merchants may carry with them as far as Cathay the lord of Cathay will take from them and put into his treasury. And to merchants who thus bring silver they give that paper money of theirs in exchange. This is of yellow paper, stamped with the seal of the lord aforesaid. And this money is called *balishi*;[2] and with this money you can readily buy silk and all other merchandize that you have a desire to buy. And all the people of the country are bound to receive it. And yet you shall not pay a higher price for your goods because your money is of paper. And of the said paper money there are three kinds, one being worth more than another, according to the value which has been established for each by that lord.[3]

And you may reckon that you can buy for one *sommo* of silver nineteen or twenty pounds of Cathay silk, when re-

[1] *Tele.*

[2] The Riccardian MS. has here *palisci*, as in the previous chapter *babisci*. No doubt in both places the original had *balisci*.

[3] This seems to allude to three *classes* of notes, as in Kublai's issue of 1260 mentioned above.

duced to Genoese weight, and that the sommo should weigh eight and a half ounces of Genoa, and should be of the alloy of eleven ounces and seventeen deniers to the pound.[1]

You may reckon also that in Cathay you should get three or three and a half pieces of damasked silk[2] for a *sommo;* and from three and a half to five pieces of *nacchetti*[3] of silk and gold, likewise for a *sommo* of silver.

[1] *I.e.*, 7 pennyweights of alloy to 11 oz. 17 dwts. of pure silver. Giov. da Uzzano in the next century speaks of the *sommi* from Caffa as being of both gold and silver, the alloy of the latter being 11 oz. 13 to 15 dwt. (p. 188).

[2] The word is *cammocca*. This the dictionaries generally are good enough to tell us means "a kind of cloth." Mr. Wright on Mandeville says it is "a rich cloth of silk mentioned not unfrequently in medieval writers," but this is still very unprecise. I had arrived at the conclusion that it must be *damasked silk*, and I now find this confirmed by Ducange (*Gloss. Græcitatis*, etc.): "*καμουχᾶς, Pannus sericus more* damasceno *confectus.*" Moreover the word is almost certainly the Arabic كمخ *kimkhwá*, "Vestis scutulata Damascena" (*Freytag*). I suppose that the *kinkhwáb* of Hindustan, now applied to a gold brocade, is the same word or a derivative.

[3] In a later chapter describing the trade at Constantinople, our author details "silk velvets, *cammucca*, *maramati*, gold cloth of every kind, *nacchetti* and *nacchi* of every kind, and likewise all cloths of gold and silk except *sendadi* (gauzes)." The *nacchi* and *nacchetti* appear to have been cloths of silk and gold. The former (*nakh*) is so explained by Ibn Batuta, who names it several times. It was made, he tells us, at Nisabur in Khorassan, and in describing the dress of the princess of Constantinople he says she had on "a mantle of the stuff called *nakh*, and also *nasij*." These two, however, were apparently not identical, but corresponded probably to the *nacchi* and *nacchetti* of Pegolotti. For Polo in the Ramusian version has "panni d'oro *nasiti* (*nasici?*) fin, e *nach*, e panni di seta." And in the old version printed in Baldelli Boni's first volume this runs "*nasicci*, drappi dorati;" whilst Rubruquis mentions *nasic* as a present given him by Mangu Khan. I know not what *maramati* is, unless it should rather be *maramali* for *makhmal*, velvet. (*Ibn Batuta*, ii, 309, 388, 422; iii, 81; *Polo* in *Ramus.*, pt. i, c. 53; *Il Milione*, i, 57; *Rub.*, p. 317.)

CHAPTER III.

Comparison of the weights and measures of Cathay and of Tana.

				lbs.	oz.
The maund[1] of Sara	=	in Genoa	weight	6	2
„	Organci	„	„	3	9
„	Oltrarre	„	„	3	9
„	Armalec	„	„	2	8
„	Camexu	„	„	2	0

Tana on the Black Sea.

At Tana, as shall next be shown, they use a variety of weights and measures, viz.:

The *cantar*, which is that of Genoa.
The *great pound*[2] = 20 lbs. Genoese.
The *ruotolo*,[3] of which 20 = 1 great pound.
The *little pound*, which is the Genoese pound.
The *tochetto*, of which 12 = 1 great pound.
The *saggio*, of which 45 = 1 sommo.
The *picco*.[4]

Wax, ladanum,[5] iron, tin, copper, pepper, ginger, all coarser

[1] *Mena*, representing the Arabic *man*, I suppose from Greek and Lat. *mina*, diffused over all the East with an infinite variety of values from below two pounds up to one hundred pounds. We have Anglicized it in India into *maund*. The *man* of Ghazan Khan, which may be meant here, was of 260 drachms.

[2] This should be equal to thirty, not twenty, Genoese pounds, as is shown by passages at pp. 31, 37, of Pegolotti. Is this *great pound* the origin of the Russian *pood*?

[3] The *cantaro* and *ruotolo* both survive in Southern Italy and Sicily, the former derived from the *kantár* and the latter from the *rithl* of the Arabs, though the first of these words, and perhaps both, must have come to the Arabic from the Latin.

[4] The *pik* is still the common cloth measure in the Levant. It seems generally to be about twenty-eight inches.

[5] *Ladanum* or *labdanum* (the *ládin* of the Arabs), is a gum resin derived from the *Cistus creticus*, which grows in the Islands of the Levant. It is exported in solid pieces of cylindrical and other forms. A long description of the mode of collecting it, etc., will be found in *Tournefort, Voyage du Levant*, i, 84, *et seq*. According to Herodotus ladanum was derived "from a most inodorous place," viz., the beards of he-goats, which collected it from the bushes in browsing (*Rawlinson's Herod.*, bk. iii, 113).

spices, cotton, madder, and suet, cheese, flax, and oil, honey, and the like, sell by the great pound.

Silk, saffron, amber wrought in rosaries and the like, and all small spices sell by the little pound.

Vair-skins by the 1000; and 1020 go to the 1000.

Ermines by the 1000; 1000 to the 1000.

Foxes, sables, fitches and martens, wolfskins, deerskins, and all cloths of silk or gold, by the piece.

Common stuffs, and canvasses of every kind sell by the *picco*.

Tails are sold by the bundle at twenty to the bundle.

Oxhides by the hundred in tale, giving a hundred and no more.

Horse and pony hides by the piece.

Gold and pearls are sold by the *saggio*.[1] Wheat and all other corn and pulse is sold at Tana by a measure which they call *cascito*.[2] Greek wine and all Latin wines are sold by the cask as they come. Malmsey and wines of Triglia and Candia are sold by the measure.

Caviar is sold by the *fusco*, and a *fusco* is the tail-half of the fish's skin, full of fish's roe.[3]

[1] The saggio in Italy was $\frac{1}{72}$ of a pound, *i. e.*, $\frac{1}{6}$ of an ounce (*Pegol.* p. 31). Here it was a little more, as may be deduced from its relation to the *sommo* opposite.

[2] *Cascito* must have been miswritten for *cafiço*. There is a measure called *kafis* in Arabic, and specified as *cafizium* in some of the treaties (*Not. et Ext.*, xi, 30). Hammer-Purgstall mentions *kofeis* as a standard measure at Tabriz, which is doubtless the same (*Gesch. der Golden Horde*, etc., p. 225). And Pegolotti himself has *cafisso* as a Moorish measure. Indeed, I need not have sought this word so far away. It is still used in Sicily as *Cafisu* for an oil measure, the fifth part of a *Cantaro*. It also exists in Spanish as *Cahiz*, and will be found in Ducange in a variety of forms, *Caffium*, *Caficium*, *Cafisa*, *Cappitius*, etc.

[3] Caviare is now exported in small kegs. *Fusco* is perhaps just *fish*. In the dialect of the Goths of the Crimea that word was *fisct* according to Busbeck. The sturgeon of the Borysthenes are already mentioned by Herodotus as large fish without prickly bones, called *antacœi*, good for pickling, and according to Professor Rawlinson caviare also was known to the Greeks as τάριχος Ἀνταιαῖος.

CHAPTER IV.

Charges on merchandize which are paid at Tana on things entering the city, nothing being paid on going forth thereof.

Gold, silver, and pearls at Tana pay neither *comerchio* nor *tamunga*, nor any other duties.

On wine, and ox-hides, and tails, and horse-hides, the Genoese and Venetians pay four per cent., and all other people five per cent.

What is paid for the transit of merchandize at Tana.

Silk 15 aspers per pound.

All other things, at . . . aspers for 3 cantars.

At Tana the money current is of *sommi* and aspers of silver. The *sommo* weighs 45 *saggi* of Tana, and is of the alloy of 11 oz. 17 dwt. of fine silver to the pound. And if silver be sent to the Tana mint, they coin 202 aspers from the *sommo*,[1] but they pay you only 190, retaining the rest for the work of the mint and its profit. So a sommo at Tana is reckoned to be 190 aspers. And the *sommi* are ingots of silver of the alloy before mentioned, which are paid away by weight. But they do not all weigh the same, so the ingots are weighed at the time of payment, and if the weight is less than it ought to be the balance is paid in aspers, to make up every sommo to the value of 45 saggi of Tana weight.

And there are also current at Tana copper coins called *folleri*, of which sixteen go to the asper. But the *folleri* are not used in mercantile transactions, but only in the purchase of vegetables and such small matters for town use.[2]

CHAPTER V gives details as to the relation of the Tana weights

[1] The *asper* must therefore have contained silver to the amount of about 0*s*. 2.8*d*.

[2] *Follero* is the Byzantine copper *Follis*, and perhaps Persian *pul*.

and measures to those of Venice, etc.; as to the weights and measures of Caffa; and as to those of Tabriz (*Torissi di Persia*). The duties at Tabriz are called *Camunoca*.

CHAPTER VI.

On the expenses which usually attend the transport of merchandize from Ajazzo of Erminia to Torissi, by land.

In the first place from AIAZZO as far as COLIDARA,[1] i.e., as far as the King of Armenia's territory extends, you pay altogether 41 taccolini and 3½ deniers (at the rate of 10 deniers to the taccolino) on every load, whether of camels or of other beasts, Now taking the taccolino to be about an asper, the amount will be about 41 aspers of Tauris per load. And 6 aspers of Tauris are equal to one Tauris bezant.

At GANDON, where you enter upon the lands of Bonsaet, i.e. of the lord of the Tartars,[2] on every load .	20	aspers.
At the same place, for watching, ditto .	3	„
At CASENA	7	„
At the CARAVANSERAI of the ADMIRAL[3] . .	3	„
At GADUE	3	„
At the CARAVANSERAI of CASA JACOMI . .	3	„
At the entrance to SALVASTRO[4] from Aiazzo . .	1	„
Inside the city	7	„
Leaving the city on the road to Tauris . .	1	„
At DUDRIAGA,[5]	3	„

[1] Respecting Aiazzo see note, p. 278 *supra*. *Colidara* should perhaps be Gobidar, the name of an Armenian fortress and barony in Taurus, which is mentioned in *Journ. As.*, ser. v, vol. xviii, 314.

[2] *Bonsaet* is Abu Said Bahadar Khan, the last effective sovereign of the Mongol dynasty in Persia, who died 1335. He is called Busaid by some Arabic writers, and on some Mongol coins. The Pope in addressing him calls him *Boyssethan*, i.e. Busaid Khan (*D'Ohsson*, iv, 716; *Mosheim*, 144).

[3] *Gavazera del Ammiraglio*, I suppose *Karwánsarai-ul-Amír*. The same word is used at each place rendered caravanserai.

[4] Sebaste, now Siwas.

[5] The proper reading is probably *Duvriaga*, viz., Divrik or Τεφρικη, a place still existing between Sivas and Erzingan.

At Greboco	4 aspers.
At Mughisar	2½ „
At ditto, as *tantaullaggio*[1] for the watch .	0½ „
At Arzinga,[2] at entrance to the town . .	5 „
Ditto, inside the city	9 „
Ditto, for the watchmen, on leaving . .	3 „
At the Caravanserai on the Hill . . .	3 „
At Liguerti	2 „
At ditto, at the bridge, for *tantaullagio* . .	0½ „
At the Caravanserai outside Arzerone[3] . .	2 „
At Arzerone, at the Baths[4]	1 „
Ditto, inside the city . . .	9 „
Ditto, as a present to the lord . .	2 „
Ditto, at the Baths towards Tauris[4] . .	1 „
At Polorbech	3 „
At ditto	0½ „
At Sermessacalo[5] for *tantaullaggio* . . .	0½ „
At Aggia, for the whole journey . . .	0½ „
At the middle of the plain of Aggia, for duty .	3 „
At ditto for *tant.*	0½ „
At Calacresti,[6] ditto	0½ „

[1] This was probably written *Tancaullaggio*. The *Tangauls* were guards or patrols upon the roads in Persia. An edict of Ghazan Khan, cited by D'Ohsson, illustrates these charges. He denounces the Tangauls for their exactions from travellers, and authorises them to take a fee of half an *akché* and no more, for every two camels or four mules loaded. (The *akche* was, I presume, the same as the asper, for it is named from *ak*, white, as the asper from ἄσπρον, white). At every station of *Tangauls* there was to be a stone pillar indicating their number, the duties of their chief, and the fees due. (*D'Ohsson*, iv, 471-2.) Pegolotti, in his prefatory glossary, says *Tantaullo* in Tartaresque is applied "to people who act as guards of places and of roads for gentlemen and others," p. xxiii.

[2] Erzingan of our maps.

[3] Erzrum.

[4] In connexion with these baths at the entrance and exit from the city we read that Ghazan Khan, in building New Tabriz, caused to be erected at each gate of the city a great caravanserai, a market, a set of baths, so that the merchants, from whatever quarter they came, found a serai and baths adjoining the custom-house where their wares were examined (*D'Ohsson*, iv, 276).

[5] I have no doubt that this is the Sarbisacalo of Odoric; see note at p. 47.

[6] Probably the place called *Karakalisa* (the Black Church).

At the THREE CHURCHES,[1] for *tant.* . . .	$0\frac{1}{2}$ aspers.
Under Noah's Ark,[2] for duty . . .	3 „
Ditto ditto for *tant.* . . .	$0\frac{1}{2}$ „
At SCARACANTI, ditto . . .	$0\frac{1}{2}$ „
At LOCCHE, ditto . . .	$0\frac{1}{2}$ „
At the plain of the Falconers, ditto (twice altogether)	1 „
At the said plain, for a ticket or permit from the lord	$0\frac{1}{2}$ „
At the CAMUZONI, for *tant.*	$0\frac{1}{2}$ „
At the Plains of the RED RIVER,[3] for *tant.* . .	$0\frac{1}{2}$ „
At CONDRO, for *tant.*	$0\frac{1}{2}$ „
At SANDODDI, ditto	$0\frac{1}{2}$ „
At TAURIS, ditto	$0\frac{1}{2}$ „

And you may reckon that the exactions of the Moccols or Tartar troopers along the road, will amount to something like fifty aspers a load. So that the cost on account of a load of merchandize going by land from Aiazzo of Armenia to Tauris in Cataria(?)[4] will be, as appears by the above details, 209 aspers a load, and the same back again.[5]

[1] I presume that this route from Erzrum to Tabriz follows the old Genoese line between Trebizond and Tabriz, which passed to the *south* of Ararat. The *Three Churches* are not therefore those of Echmiazin, but the *Uchkilisi* of the maps in the position just mentioned.

[2] "*Sotto Larcanöe!*" Probably at Bayazid.

[3] The Red River (*Fiume Rosso*) is mentioned in this position by the Palatine version of Odoric also. There is no Red River here, so named, but no doubt what is meant is the Araxes, or *Arás*, called by Edrisi Al *Rás*, a name sure to be Italianized into *Rosso*.

[4] Tartaria?

[5] It is really 203 aspers (about £2 : 8 : 0). Apparently he has added in the 6 aspers named at the end of the first paragraph.

CHAPTER VII.

Detail showing how all goods are sold and bought at Constantinople and in Pera, and of the expenses incurred by traders; but especially as regards Pera, because most of the business is done there, where the merchants are more constantly to be found. For the rest of Constantinople belongs to the Greeks, but Pera to the Franks, i.e., to the Genoese. And from Constantinople to Pera, 'tis five miles by land, but half a mile by water.

This is one of the longest chapters in the book, and embraces numerous particulars as to the customs of trade; as of tare, damage, garbling, samples, etc. We shall give some extracts.

Goods are sold at Constantinople in various ways.

The indigo called Baccadeo is (sold in packages) of a certain weight, and the weight you must know should be the cantar. And if the buyer chooses to take it from the seller without weighing it, be it more or less than a cantar, 'tis to the profit or loss of the buyer. But they do almost always weigh it, and then payment is made according to the exact weight, be it more or less than a cantar. And the skin and wrapper are given with it but no tare is deducted; nor is garbling allowed; nor do they allow the indigo to be examined except by a little hole, from which a small sample may be extracted. For such is use and wont in those parts.

The following are sold by the cantar (of 150 Genoese lbs.)

Wormwood; madder, and the bag goes as madder without any allowance for tare. Alum of every kind, and even if it be Roch-alum, the sack and cord go as alum.

The following also are sold by the cantar at Constantinople and in Pera.

Horse hides
Ox hides
Buffalo hides

In purchasing these they are shown to the provers up the hill, i.e. in Pera; and if the hides smell damp or wet, then a fit allowance is made, and this is the system in

Pera and in Constantinople, and they are not put in the sun unless they are exceedingly wet indeed.

Suet in jars ;[1] iron of every kind ; tin of every kind : lead of every kind. *Zibibs*[2] or raisins of every kind, and the mats go as raisins, with no allowance for tare unless they be raisins of Syria. In that case the baskets or hampers are allowed for as tare, and remain with the buyer into the bargain.

Soap of Venice, soap of Ancona, and soap of Apulia in wooden cases. They make tare of the cases, and then these go to the buyer for nothing. But the soap of Cyprus and of Rhodes is in sacks, and the sacks go as soap with no tare allowance.

Broken almonds in bags ; the bag goes as almonds ; only if there be more than one sack and cord it must be removed, or deducted, so that the buyer shall not have to take more than one sack and cord as almonds, but for any beyond that there shall be tare allowed ; and the cord shall go to the buyer gratis.

Honey in kegs or skins ; tare is allowed for the keg or skin, but it remains with the buyer gratis.

Cotton wool ;[3] and the sack goes as cotton without tare. Cotton yarn ; and the sack is allowed as tare, and remains with the buyer for nothing.

Rice ; and the bag goes as rice, but if it be tied the cord is allowed as tare and remains with the seller. Turkey galls of every kind ; and if they are in bags you weigh bag and all, and do not make tare of the bag. Dried figs

[1] "*Sevo in* parrocie ;" the latter word is to be found in no dictionary. But in a grant of trading privileges to the Genoese from Leon III, King of Armenia, we find "*Vinum possit rendere in vegetis vel in* parge." And on this St. Martin observes, "This is the common Armenian word *p'hartch*, signifying a *jar*." (*Notices et Extraits*, xi, 114). I have little doubt that this is the word represented by *parrocie*.

[2] *Arab. zibib* ; the word is still in Italian use.

[3] "*Cotone mapputo*."

of Majorca and Spain in hampers. Orpiment, and the bag goes as orpiment. Safflower,[1] and you make tare of bag and cord, and after that they remain with the buyer gratis.

Henna ;[2] and the bag goes as henna, only a tare of four per cent. is allowed by custom of trade. Cummin ; and the bag goes as cummin, and if tied with rope the rope is allowed as tare but remains with the buyer gratis.

Pistachios ;[3] and the bag goes with them with no allowance for tare, unless there be more bags than one, and if there be, then the excess is weighed and allowed as tare, and the buyer has the one bag gratis.

Sulphur ; and the bag or barrel in which it is, is allowed as tare, and goes to the buyer gratis. Senna ; and the bag is tare and goes to the buyer. Pitch ; and the mat is allowed for as tare, and goes to the buyer. *Morda sangue ;*[4] the bag goes with it and no tare allowed.

The following are sold in the same way (but the particulars as to customs of sale, etc., are omitted).

Saltmeat ; cheese ; flax of Alexandria and of Romania ; Camlet wool ; washed wool of Romania ; unwashed ditto ; washed or unwashed wool of Turkey ; chesnuts.

[1] Here the word is *Asfrole*, the identity of which with safflower will perhaps be doubted. But at p. 373, where he makes the word *affiore*, the description of the article and the way to judge of qualities appear to point to safflower. In other passages he has *astifore*, *astuffi*, but also *saffole* (di Valenza) *saffiore*, *safflore* (pp. 64, 295, 211, 113, 134, 137).

[2] "*Alcana*," the *Cyprus* of the Greeks, the *Phylleria* or Mock-privet of Gerarde, now called *Lawsonia Inermis*, used by Eastern women to tinge the nails, by men in dyeing the beard, etc.

[3] *Fistuchi*. Though I do not find this form in any Italian dictionary, *Macculloch's Commercial Dict.* mentions *Fastucchi* as an Italian form of *Pistacchi*, and I have no doubt this is the word. For the Arabs call pistachioes *Fustúk* and the Turks, *Fistik*. The Persian is *Pistah* with no *k*, so that the word probably was first introduced in the Arabic form. I find Gerarde calls pistachioes *Fistick-Nuts*.

[4] This perplexing word must be the Persian *Murdah-sang*, "Litharge." Burns however renders *Moordar-sung* (as he spells it) "sulphate of copper" (*Travels*, iii, 207).

The following are sold by the hundredweight of 100 *Genoese pounds* (details omitted).

Round pepper; ginger; barked brazil-wood; lac; zedoary;[1] incense; sugar, and powdered sugar of all kinds; aloes of all kinds; quicksilver; cassia fistula; sal ammoniac or *lisciadro;* cinnabar; cinnamon; galbanum;[2] ladanum of Cyprus; mastic; copper; amber, big, middling, and small, not wrought; stript coral; clean and fine coral, middling and small.

The following are sold by the pound.

Raw silk; saffron; clove-stalks[3] and cloves; cubebs; lign-aloes; rhubarb; mace; long pepper; galangal;[4] broken camphor; nutmegs; spike;[5] cardamoms; scammony; pounding pearls;[6] manna; borax; gum Arabic; dragon's

[1] *Zettoara.* This is a drug now almost disused; the root of a plant which used to be exported from Malabar, Ceylon, Cochin China, etc. (*Macculloch.*)

[2] A gum-resin derived from a perennial plant (*G. officinale*) growing in Syria, Persia, the Cape of Good Hope, etc. It is imported into England from the Levant chiefly. (*Macculloch.*)

[3] *Fusti di Gherofani.* These, when good, are said elsewhere by Pegolotti to be worth one-third the price of good cloves. The phrase appears often in Uzzano's book, as well as *Fiori* and *Foglia di Gherofani.* Garzia, quoted by Mattioli on Dioscorides, says the *stalks* of the cloves are called *Fusti.* But old Gerarde says "That grosse kinde of cloves which hath been supposed to be the male, are nothing else than fruit of the same tree tarrying there untill it fall down of itselfe unto the grounde, where by reason of his long lying and meeting with some raine in the mean season, it loseth the quick taste that the others have. Some have called those *Fusti,* whereof we may English them *Fusses.*" Pegolotti has also (p. 309) *Fistuchi di Gherofani,* but these seem to have been clove twigs, which were formerly imported along with cloves, and which Budaeus in a note on Theophrastus considers to have been the *cinnamomum* of the ancients. (See a passage in Ibn Baṭuṭa, *infra; Gerarde's Herball,* 1535; *Mattioli,* 354; *Budaeus* on *Theophrastus,* 992-3).

[4] *Galanga,* a root imported from India and China, of aromatic smell and hot unpleasant taste. (*Macculloch.*)

[5] *Spigo;* the spike lavender from which this was made was called *Italian Nard.* Marsden supposes the spigo of M. Polo to be spikenard.

[6] *Perle da Pestare,* mentioned also by G. da Uzzano; I suppose for use in medicine. Mattioli quotes from Avicenna and others that pearls were

blood; camel's hay;[1] turbit;[2] silk-gauze; sweetmeats; gold wire; dressed silk; wrought amber in beads, etc.

Sold in half scores of pieces.

Buckrams of Erzingan and Cyprus.

By the piece.

Silk velvets; damasks; *maramati;* gold cloth of every kind; *nachetti* and *nacchi* of every kind; and all cloths of silk and gold except gauzes.[3]

Sold by the hundred piks *of Gazaria.*[4]

Common stuffs and canvasses of all kinds, except those of Champagne; also French and North-country broad cloths.

Then follow details of the different kinds of cloths, with the length of the pieces. And then a detail of special modes of selling certain wares, such as:

Undressed vairs, and vair bellies and backs; Slavonian squirrels; martins and fitches; goat skins and ram skins; dates, filberts, walnuts; salted sturgeon tails; salt; oil of Venice; oil of the March; oil of Apulia, of Gaeta, etc.; wheat and barley; wine of Greece, of Turpia in Calabria,[5] of Patti in Sicily, of Patti in Apulia,[6] of Cutrone in Calabria,[7] of the March, of Crete, of Romania; country wine.

good in palpitations and watery eyes; but not as if they were used in his own time.

[1] *Squinanti,* the σχοῖνος of the Greek herbalists, or *Juncus Odoratus.* The name in the text is that used (and perhaps invented) by Gerarde.

[2] The cortical part of the root of a species of convolvulus from various parts of the East Indies. Like other drugs named here, it is but little used in medicine now-a-days.

[3] On the words in this passage see note, p. 295 *supra.*

[4] Gazaria, the country embracing the Sea of Azov and the Crimea, in which were the Frank factories of Tana, Caffa, Soldaia, etc.; so named from the ancient tribes of the Khozars or Chasars.

[5] Tropea, on the west coast of Calabria.

[6] Patti in Sicily is a small cathedral town west of Milazzo. The other I cannot indicate.

[7] Cotrone, the ancient Crotona, on the east coast of Calabria.

Then follow details on the money in use, on the duties levied,—

(And don't forget that if you treat the custom-house officers with respect, and make them something of a present in goods or money, as well as their clerks and dragomen, they will behave with great civility, and always be ready to appraise your wares below their real value.)

—On the preferential prices given for certain kinds of goods; as to the fees paid for weighing, garbling, brokerage, packing, warehousing, and the like; with details of the relation of the weights and measures to those of most European countries.

This may serve as a sample of the average contents of the book.

CHAP. XXIX treats of how various kinds of goods are packed, etc.

CHAP. XXX is on shipment and matters connected therewith.

CHAP. XXXV is on assays of gold and silver.

CHAP. LXII is *on London in England in itself;* but it does not contain anything of interest for extract. The chief idea connected with England in Pegolotti's mind appears to have been wool.[1]

CHAP. LXIII gives a detail of the "Houses (Religious) in Scotland, in England,[2] that have wool.

The list is very curious. It embraces:

Niobottoli,[3] Mirososso,[4] Barmunacche,[5] Chupero,[6] Chilosola,[7] Donfermellino,[8] Dondarnane,[9] Grenelusso,[10] Balledirucco(?), Guldingamo,[11] Ghelzo,[12] Norbonucche,[13] Sansasano(?),[14] Grideghorda(?).

[1] Woollen cloth was one of the staples of Florentine commerce. In 1338 there were 200 *botteghe*, producing cloth to the value of 1,200,000 *secchins*, and supporting 30,000 persons (*Della Decima*, iv, p. 24).

[2] "*Magioni di Scozia di Inghilterra.*"

[3] Newbattle. [4] Melrose? or perhaps "Mary's House."

[5] Pagnini has *Barmicciacche*, but the above is from the MS. Balmerynac or Balmannac is the old name of the Abbey of Balmerino in Fifeshire.

[6] Cupar. [7] Killoss or Kynloss in Moray. [8] Dunfermline.

[9] Dundrennan. [10] Glenluce. [11] Coldingham. [12] Kelso.

[13] North Berwick?

[14] This seems like St. Susan's, but I can trace no such Scotch abbey.

But he soon passes from Scotland to England, for the following *Houses of the Cistercian Order* certainly belong to the south:

Olcholtam,[1] Nieomostriere[2] in Orto Bellanda, Fornace in Orto Bellanda,[3] Calderea in Coppolanda,[4] Salleo in Cravenna,[5] Giervalese,[6] Fontana,[7] Biolanda,[8] Bivalse,[9] Miesa in Oldaraese,[10] Chirchestallo,[11] Laroccia,[12] Il Parco di Livia,[13] Chiricistede,[14] Revesbi,[15] Svinsivede,[16] Lavaldeo,[17] Rufforte in Estierenda,[18] Gierondona.[19]

The chapter contains many more puzzles of the same kind. But our extracts have wandered far from Cathay or the road thither, and must stop.

[1] Holm Cultram Abbey in Cumberland.
[2] "Newminster," near Morpeth, in "Northumberland."
[3] "Furness in Northumberland," in which it is not.
[4] "Calder Abbey in Cumberland" (and this shows that the Englishman slurred his R's already).
[5] "*Sawley* Abbey in Craven." [6] Jorvaulx. [7] Fountains.
[8] Byland. [9] Probably should be *Rivalse*, Rivaulx.
[10] "Meaux Abbey in Holderness." [11] Kirkstall. [12] Roche Abbey.
[13] Probably Louth Park, called "*de Parco lude.*" [14] Kirkstead.
[15] Revesby Abbey in Lincolnshire. [16] Swineshead.
[17] The Abbey of *Vaudey* or "de Valle Dei" in Lincolnshire.
[18] Rufford or Rumford Abbey in Nottinghamshire.
[19] Gerondon or Geraldon Abbey in Leicestershire. For these abbeys (which are all Cistercian) see *Tanner's Notitia Monastica.*

v.

MARIGNOLLI'S RECOLLECTIONS OF EASTERN TRAVEL.

v.

JOHN DE' MARIGNOLLI AND HIS RECOLLECTIONS OF EASTERN TRAVEL.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND INTRODUCTORY NOTICES.

THESE notices of Eastern Travel are found, like unexpected fossils in a mud-bank, imbedded in a Chronicle of Bohemia, which was first printed from an old MS. in the latter half of the last century. Of the author there is not very much to be learned, except what can be gathered from these reminiscences of his. John of Florence, a Minorite, is known to the ecclesiastical biographers as the author of sundry theological works, and as Bishop of Bisignano. And a John of Florence, a Minorite, is also known, through brief notices in the Annals of Raynaldus and Wadding, as having gone on a mission to Cathay. But till the publication of the Bohemian Chronicle the identity of these Johns does not seem to have been suspected, and even since the date of that publication they have been carefully discriminated by a very learned Franciscan.[1]

The two Johns were, however, one. He was a native of Florence or its neighbourhood, and came of the Marignolli of San Lorenzo, a noble family of the Republic which derived its name from a village called Marignolle, in the Valley of the Arno, about two miles south-west of the city. The family of the

[1] See *Supplementum et Castigatio ad* Scriptores Trium Ordinum S. Francisci a Waddingo, &c., *opus posthumum Fr. Jo. Hyacinthi Sbaraleæ*, Romæ, 1806, p. 436. Another John of Florence, also connected with the Eastern missions of the fourteenth century, is mentioned by Quétif; but he was a Dominican, and bishop of Tiflis in Georgia (*Script. Ord. Prædicat.*, p. 583).

Marignolli was, in the middle ages, one of the most influential in Florence, and its members were generally leaders in the Guelf faction. They were expelled from the Republic on the defeat of that party at Montaperti in 1260,[1]

"Lo strazio e'l grande scempio
Che fece l'Arbia colorata in rosso,"

but after a few years effected their return, and long continued to give many gonfaloniers and other magistrates to the city. In the seventeenth century, however, they were already quite extinct. A street in Florence near the cathedral, now called Via de' Cerretani, is still marked as having formerly borne their name (*Già de' Marignolli*).[2]

The date of John's birth is not known. But it may be guessed from the wandering garrulity of his recollections, that he was an aged man, when, some time about 1355, he put them on paper; and this is confirmed by a circumstance which will be cited below. He was therefore born, in all probability, before 1290.

He was a member of the Franciscan monastery of Santa Croce in Florence, to which he apparently refers in his story, when he tells us that on his return from the East he deposited a certain Indian garment in the sacristy of the Minorites in that city.

He is known for certain as the author of two works in Tuscan: one a *History of St. Onufrio;* the other a work called *The Acts of the Apostles*, whether a translation of Scripture or a collection of legends, I do not know. Both are said to be cited as authorities in Italian by the Della Crusca vocabulary. But he is also supposed to have been the John of Florence who wrote a History of his Order, and a treatise on the Canonization of St. Francis, works which formerly existed in the library of Santa Croce.[3] Sbaralea also regards as probably written by Marignolli a small Italian work on *The Flowers of St. Francis*, which was printed by

[1] *G. Villani, Istoria Fiorentina*, book v, c. 79, 80.

[2] The last fact is from personal observation. Others in this paragraph are partly from *Italia Sacra* of Ughelli (Venice, 1717, i, 522), and partly from a respectable Tuscan authority the reference to which I have omitted to note.

[3] *Sbaralea*, u.s.

Nicolas Girardengo at Venice in 1480, and often reprinted; and also a Life of St. John Baptist, which is appended to the former in the MS. at Bologna.

Marignolli refers in his recollections to having at one time given lectures at Bologna.[1] And this is all that I can collect about him previous to his mission to the East.

John of Monte Corvino, the venerable Archbishop of Cambalec, died as we have already seen about 1328, and the successor appointed by Pope John in 1333 seems never to have reached his destination.[2]

In 1338 however there arrived at Avignon an embassy from the Great Khan of Cathay, consisting of Andrew a Frank, and fifteen other persons. They brought two letters to the pope: one purporting to be from the Grand Khan himself, and the other from certain princes of the Christian Alans in his service.

It is not stated that Andrew was an ecclesiastic; but it is possible that he may have been our acquaintance the Bishop of Zayton.[3]

D'Ohsson[4] regards the whole matter as an example of the sham embassies which on several occasions were palmed off on the European courts as coming from the Mongol princes. But he is apparently not aware of Marignolli's narrative of the return mission and its reception. And the Khan's letter looks very genuine in its haughty curtness and absence of swelling titles, the use of which Chinghiz prohibited to his successors. The preliminary phrase also seems the same that is found prefixed to the Tartar letters in the French archives; and which Remusat states to be a mark of genuine character.[5] In any case the letter is meritoriously short and to the point, so we may give it in full.[6]

[1] "*Vidi etiam Bononiæ quando ibi legebam.*" (*Dobner*, p. 112.)

[2] See above, p. 172.

[3] See p. 183 above.

[4] *Hist. des Mongols*, ii, 608.

[5] *Mem. de l'Academie des Inscript.* (Modern) vii, 367. He renders it "*Par la force du Ciel suprême.*"

[6] This and the other letters connected with this embassy are given in *Wadding*, vol. vii, pp. 209 and *seq.*; also in *Mosheim*, Append., pp. 166 and *seq.*

"In the strength of the Omnipotent God!

"The Emperor of Emperors commandeth:

"We send our envoy, Andrew the Frank, with fifteen others, to the Pope, the Lord of the Christians, in Frank-land beyond the Seven Seas[1] where the sun goes down, to open a way for the frequent exchange of messengers between us and the Pope; and to request the Pope himself to send us his blessing, and always to remember us in his holy prayers; and to commend to him the Alans, our servants and his Christian sons. Also we desire that our messengers bring back to us horses and other rarities from the sun-setting.

"Written in Cambalec, in the year of the Rat, in the sixth month, on the third day of the Moon."[2]

The letter of the Alan chiefs, with partial omissions, runs as follows:—

"In the strength of the Omnipotent God, and in the honour of our Lord the Emperor!

"We, FUTIM JOENS, CHATICEN TUNGII, GEMBOGA EVENZI, JOANNES IUCHOY (and RUBEUS PINZANUS),[3] with our heads in the dust salute

[1] Meinert (see below) supposes these seven seas to be the Aral, Caspian, Sea of Azov, Black Sea, Sea of Marmora, Archipelago, and the Mediterranean. It may be noted that Edrisi also reckons seven seas besides the Great Ocean, viz., Red Sea, Green Sea (Persian Gulf), Sea of Damascus (Mediterranean), Sea of Venice, Sea of Pontus, and Sea of Jorjan (Caspian). And the Arabian navigators of the ninth century also reckon seven seas between Basra and China. But any such scientific precision is here highly improbable. The reference is more likely to be to the seven annular seas of the Buddhist cosmogony, and done into vulgar English means only that the Pope lived at the "Back of Beyond."

[2] About July 1336.

[3] These at first-sight look like names out of *Gulliver's Travels*, such as Quinbus Flestrin and the like. They are several times repeated in the copies of different letters from the Pope that have come down to us, and the forms vary considerably. We have the following:

Futim Joens, Fodim and Fodin Jovens;
Chaticen Tungii, Chyansam and Chyausam Tongi;
Gemboga Evenzi, Chemboga Vensii or Vense;
Ioannes Jukoy, Iochoy, or Yathoy;
Rubeus Pinzanus or Puizanus.

The last name occurs in two of the Pope's letters, but not in that of the Alans as we have it.

I cannot venture to say what these names are meant to represent, but

our Holy Father the Pope. . . . For a long time we received instruction in the Catholic faith, with wholesome guidance and abundant consolation, from your Legate Friar John, a man of weighty, capable, and holy character. But since his death, eight years ago, we have been without a director, and without spiritual consolation. We heard, indeed, that thou hadst sent another legate, but he hath never yet appeared. Wherefore we beseech your Holiness to send us a legate, wise, capable, and virtuous, to care for our souls. And let him come quickly, for we are here a flock without a head, without instruction, without consolation. . . . And it has happened on three or four different occasions that envoys have come on thy part to the aforesaid Emperor our Master, and have been most graciously received by him, and have

the following suggestions may at least show the sort of explanations that are practicable. I have a suspicion that the first six words form two names only instead of three. Assuming this we have for the first, Futim Joens (i.e. Yoens) Chyansam. To reduce Yoens or Yovens to a rational form it must be remembered that these names were probably transferred from Persian, or some analogous character. Transfer Yovens *back* into Persian it becomes يونس, which when read properly into Roman letters is *Yúnus* or Jonas, no doubt the name of the personage in question; whilst *Futim* may represent the Chinese title *Futai*, and *Chyansam* that of *Chingsang*, the designation of the great ministers of state which often occurs in the Mongol history, and has already occurred in the extracts from Rashid. (*D'Ohsson*, ii, 636; *Journ. Asiat.*, ser. ii, tom. vi, pp. 352-3; *supra*, p. 263.)

The next name will be *Tungii Gemboga Vensii*. *Tungii* looks like the *Dankji* of Shah Rukh's Embassy, in the narrative of which we find it applied to the Chinese governors of the frontier provinces, perhaps as a corruption of the Chinese *Tsiangshi*, a general. *Gemboga* or Chambuca is the proper name, a name quite Tartar in character, for scores of *Boghas* will be found in the histories of the Mongols and of Timur (from Turki *Bugha*, an army leader). We find *Jamuca*, which is perhaps the same name, as one of the rivals of Chinghiz (*D'Ohsson*, i, 70). And Vensii is almost certainly *Wangshi*, a commandant of ten thousand.

The *Yukoy*, which appears to be the title of Joannes, the next of the Alans, is perhaps *Yeukie*, which according to Visdelou (*Suppt. to Herbelot*) is a rank equivalent to colonel, or as Pauthier calls it, "*chef de bataillon* (*Chine Mod.*, 221). Lastly we have in the title of *Rubeus Pinzanus*, the *Fanchán* or *Panchán* of the Persian historians of the Mongol dynasty (*D'Ohsson*, vi, 530, 637, etc.; Ext. from Rashid, *supra*, p. 263) representing the Chinese title of an under minister of state. *Rubeus* is probably a translation of the original name, *Kizil* or the like, meaning *Red*.

had honours and presents bestowed upon them; and although all of them in turn promised to bring back thine answer to our Lord aforesaid, never yet hath he had any reply from thee or from the Apostolic See. Wherefore let your Holiness see to it that this time and henceforward there may be no doubt about a reply being sent, and an envoy also, as is fitting from your Holiness. For it is cause of great shame to Christians in these parts, when their fellows are found to tell lies." (Date as above.)

The position of these Alans in China suggests a curious and perplexing problem. We shall find that Marignolli speaks of them as "the greatest and noblest nation in the world, the fairest and bravest of men"; as those to whose aid Chinghiz owed all his great victories; and who in the writer's own day were to the number of thirty thousand in the service of the Great Khan, and filled the most important offices of state, whilst all were, at least nominally, Christians.

The Alans were known to the Chinese by that name, in the ages immediately preceding and following the Christian era, as dwelling near the Aral, in which original position they are believed to have been closely akin to, if not identical with, the famous Massagetæ. Hereabouts also Ptolemy (vi, 14) appears to place the Alani-Scythæ, and Alanæan Mountains. From about 40 B.C. the emigrations of the Alans seem to have been directed westward to the Lower Don; here they are placed in the first century by Josephus and by the Armenian writers; and hence they are found issuing in the third century to ravage the rich provinces of Asia Minor. In 376 the deluge of the Huns on its westward course came upon the Alans and overwhelmed them. Great numbers of Alans are found to have joined the conquerors on their further progress, and large bodies of Alans afterwards swelled the waves of Goths, Vandals, and Sueves, that rolled across the Western Empire. A portion of the Alans, however, after the Hun invasion retired into the plains adjoining Caucasus, and into the lower valleys of that region, where they maintained the name and nationality which the others speedily lost. Little is heard of these Caucasian Alans for many centuries, except occasionally as mercenary soldiers of the Byzantine emperors or the

Persian kings. In the thirteenth century they made a stout resistance to the Mongol conquerors, and though driven into the mountains they long continued their forays on the tracts subjected to the Tartar dynasty that settled on the Wolga, so that the Mongols had to maintain posts with strong garrisons to keep them in check. They were long redoutable both as warriors and as armourers, but by the end of the fourteenth century they seem to have come thoroughly under the Tartar rule; for they fought on the side of Toctamish Khan of Sarai against the great Timur.

The Chinese historians of the Mongol dynasty now call this people Asu, and by that name (Aas and the like) they were also known to Ibn Batuta and to the Frank travellers, Carpini, Rubruquis, and Josafat Barbaro. This and other reasons led Klaproth to identify them with the *Ossethi*, still existing in Caucasus. Vivien St. Martin however has urged strong reasons against this identification, though he considers both tribes to have been originally members of one great stock of *Asi*, who by routes and at times widely separated, severally found their way from Central Asia to the region of Caucasus. According to the same authority the Georgians, who always distinguished between the *Alanethi* and *Ossethi*, still recognize a people of the former branch in the interior of the Abaz country where no traveller has penetrated.

We now come to the difficulty of accounting for the appearance of numerous Alans in the armies and administration of the Yuen dynasty, a difficulty which perhaps led Klaproth to suggest that those were really of a Mongol tribe bearing that name, and had nothing in common with the Caucasian people of whom we have been speaking.[1]

This suggestion has not met with acceptance. And there are notices to be found which account to some extent for the position ascribed to the Alans in China, though the records on the subject seem to be imperfect. Chinghiz Khan, in the course of his western conquests, is recorded to have forced many of the inhabitants of the countries which he overran to take service in his armies. The historian Rashiduddin, in speaking of the Christianity of the Keraits, and especially of the mother and the

[1] *Klaproth, Magazin Asiatique*, i., p. 199.

minister of Guyuk-Khan, who were Christians of that tribe, says that they summoned to the court of Karakoram numerous priests of Syria, Asia Minor, *the Alan country*, and Russia. And Gaubil, without apparently being aware of the identity with the Alans of the Asu (or Aas) who are spoken of in the text of the Chinese history which he follows, observes in a note that the country of the Asu, after its conquest, furnished many valuable officers to the Mongols, and that it could not have lain far from the Caspian. The same narrative states that Kublai Khan, when despatching an army against the Sung dynasty of Southern China, desired his general to select the best possible officers, and that there were consequently attached to the army many chiefs of the Uigurs, Persians, Kincha, *Asu*, and others. The anecdote which Marco Polo relates of the massacre of a body of Christian Alans during this very war, may also be called to mind.

Still the numbers and very prominent position ascribed by Marignolli to the Alans in the Mongol-Chinese empire, are, after all allowance for natural exaggeration of the importance of his co-religionists, rather startling. The history of these later princes of the Yuen dynasty does not seem to be accessible in any great detail, but it is easily conceivable that as the spirit of the Mongols degenerated, their princes, as in so many similar cases, came to lean more and more on their foreign auxiliaries, and that these may have been often found in occupation of the highest posts of the empire. Indeed it was one of the complaints against Tocatur or Shunti, the Emperor reigning at this time, that he gave too much authority to "foreigners of ill-regulated morals."[1]

Returning to the embassy of 1338, we find that it was graciously received by the Pope, Benedict XII, one mark of his favour being to create one of the Tartar envoys sergeant-at-arms to himself; that in due time his Holiness delivered answers to

[1] See a learned article by *Vivien St. Martin*, in *Ann. de Voyages* for 1848, iii, 129; also *Ruquis*, pp. 242, 243, 252, 381; *Carpini*, pp. 709, 729; *Ramusio*, ii, 92; *Martin* in *Journ. Asiat.*, ser. ii, tom. v, 175; *Klaproth* in ditto, p. 389; *Quet* in ditto, vii, 417-433; *St. Martin, Mém. sur l'Arménie*, ii, 280; *Batuta*, ii, 448; *Gaubil, Hist. de Gentchis Can.*, pp. 40, 147; *Deguignes*, 215, etc.

[2] *Baluzius, Vitæ PaAvenion*, i, 242.

the letters from Cathay; and that shortly afterwards he appointed legates to proceed on his own part to the court of Cambalec, with a charge which combined the reciprocation of the Khan's courtesies with the promotion of missionary objects.

The letters addressed by the Pope in reply to the Khan and the Alan Princes are of no interest.[1] They were accompanied by letters also to the Khans of Kipchak and Chagatai, and to two Christian ministers of the latter sovereign, expressing the Pope's intention speedily to send envoys to those courts. With these letters the eastern envoys departed from Avignon in July 1338, bearing recommendations also from the Pope to the Doge and Senate of Venice, and to the Kings of Hungary and Sicily.[2]

Some months later the Pontiff named the legates, and addressed a letter to them under date II Kal. Novemb., in the fourth year of his Popedom, *i.e.*, 31st October, 1338. Their names were Nicholas Boneti S. T. P., Nicholas of Molano, JOHN OF FLORENCE, and Gregory of Hungary.

But for the disinterment of Marignolli's reminiscences in the Bohemian Chronicle, this is all that we should know of the mission, excepting what is conveyed by a few brief lines in Wadding's Annals of the Order under 1342, as to the arrival of the party at the Court of Cambalec, and eleven years later as to the return of its surviving members to the headquarters of the Church at Avignon.

It does not appear with what strength or composition the mission actually started, but probably there were a good many friars in addition to the legates. Indeed, a contemporary German chronicler says, that fifty Minorites were sent forth on this occasion; but it is evident that he had no accurate knowledge on the subject; and, indeed, his notice is accompanied by one of the fabulous statements, so frequent in that age, as to the conversion of the Grand Khan to Christianity, and by other palpable errors.[3]

[1] The letter to the Khan from this James Fournier, Bishop of Rome under the name of Benedict XII, commences without any mincing of the matter: "*Nos qui, licet immeriti,* LOCUM DEI TENEMUS IN TERRIS."

[2] *Wadding,* l. c.

[3] Under the year 1339: "The King of the Tartars is reported to have been converted through the agency of a certain woman who had been

Marignolli mentions incidentally that the party, during their stay at Cambalec, consisted of thirty-two persons, but with no further particulars. Nor do we even know what became of his colleagues in the legation. Though Marignolli's name comes only third in the Pope's letters, he speaks throughout his narrative as if he had been the chief, if not the sole, representative of the Pontiff. And it is him alone that Wadding mentions by name in his short notices of the proceedings and return of the mission.

One of the four indeed, Nicholas Boneti, must have returned speedily if he ever started for the East at all. For in May 1342 he is recorded to have been appointed by Clement VI to the Bishopric of Malta.[1]

Marignolli's notices of his travels have no proper claim to the title of a narrative, and indeed the construction of a narrative out of them is a task something like that of raising a geological theory out of piecemeal observations of strata and the study of scattered organic remains. It is necessary, therefore, to give a short sketch of the course of his travels, such as the editor has understood it, unless readers are to go through the same amount of trouble in putting the pieces together. But in doing so I shall anticipate as little as possible the details into which our author enters.

The party left Avignon in December 1338, but had to wait at Naples some time for the Tartar envoys, who had probably been lionizing in the cities and courts of Italy. Constantinople was

brought to the Catholic faith by the Minor Friars dwelling in that country for the purpose of preaching Christ's Gospel. And he sent ambassadors with a letter to Pope Benedict, to beg that he would deign to send teachers, preachers, and directors of the orthodox faith to convert the people, to baptize the converted, and to confirm the baptized in their new faith. And the Pope, joyfully assenting, arranged the despatch of fifty Minor Friars (because men of that order had been the instruments of the king's conversion), all men of good understanding and knowledge of life. But as to what progress they have made, or how much people they have won to the Lord Jesus Christ, up to this present time of Lent in the year 1343 no news whatever hath reached Suabia." (*Joannis Vitodurani* (of Winterthur) *Chron.* in *Eccard*, i., col. 1852.)

[1] *Wadding*, An. 1342, § iv. This annalist says of Nicholas, as if knowing all about his return, "*qui tamen ob graves causas ex ipso reversus est itinere.*"

reached on the 1st May, 1339, and there the party halted till midsummer. They then sailed across the Black Sea to Caffa, and travelled thence to the Court of Uzbek, Khan of Kipchak, no doubt at Sarai. The winter of 1339 was passed there; and, supposing the party to start about May and to take the usual commercial route by Urghanj, they would get to Armalec (or Almalig), the capital of the Chagatai dynasty or "Middle Empire", about September. The stay of the mission at Almalig was prolonged. They did not quit it till 1341, and perhaps not till near the end of that year. They must also have spent some considerable time at Kamil,[1] so that probably they did not arrive at Peking till about May or June 1342. It was, however, almost certainly within that year; for both Wadding's notice, and a curious entry in the Chinese Annals, agree in naming it.[2]

The time spent by Marignolli at Cambalec extended to three or four years, after which he proceeded through the empire to the port of Zayton, where there were houses of his Order. He sailed from Zayton for India on the 26th December, either in 1346 or 1347, probably the latter. Of this voyage unluckily he says not one word, except to record his arrival at Columbum (Quilon) in Malabar, during the following Easter week. He remained with the Christians of Columbum upwards of a year, and then, during the south-west monsoon of 1348 or 1349, set sail for the Coromandel Coast to visit the shrine of Thomas the Apostle. After passing only four days there he proceeded to visit Saba, a country which he evidently means to be identified with the Sheba of Scripture, and which he finds still governed by a queen.

As this Saba and its queen offer the most difficult problem in all the disjointed story of Marignolli's wanderings, and as his notices of it are widely dispersed, I will bring together the substance of all in this place, hoping that some critic may have learning and good luck enough to solve a knot which I have given up in something like despair.

[1] See Marignolli's Recollections of Travel, *infra*, near the end.

[2] *Wadding*, vii, p. 258, and note, *infra*, on the horses conveyed to the Khan by Marignolli.

This Saba, then, is the finest island in the world; the Arctic Pole is there, as was pointed out to Marignolli by Master Lemon of Genoa (I suppose after his return to Europe), six degrees below the horizon, and the Antartic as much above it, whilst many other wonderful astronomical phenomena are visible; women always or very generally administer the government; the walls of the palace are adorned with fine historical pictures; chariots and elephants are in use, especially for the women; there is a mountain of very great height called *Gybeit* or The Blessed, with which legends of Elias and of the Magi are connected; the queen treats the traveller with great honour and invests him with a golden girdle, such as she was wont to bestow upon those whom she created princes; there are a few Christians there; and finally when Marignolli has quitted Saba he is overtaken by a series of gales, which drive his ship (apparently contrary to intention) into a port of Ceylon.

Meinert, the first who commented on Marignolli, is clear that Java is intended by him; Kunstmann as clear that he speaks of the Maldives. The latter idea also occurred to me before I had he pleasure of seeing Professor Kunstmann's papers, but I rected it for reasons which seem insuperable.

t is true and certainly remarkable that both Masudi in the of the ninth century, and Edrisi in the eleventh, speak of the *Dibat* or *Robaihat* (which are apparently errors of transcription *Dibajat*, and mean the Maldives) as more or less under fem overnment; and when Ibn Batuta was in the same islands a sho me before Marignolli's return from China, there actually reigne emale sovereign, Kadija by name, the daughter of the decease ltan, and who had been set upon the throne in place of a bro whom the people had deposed. Her husband exercised the hority in fact, but all orders were issued in her name. E also mentions the queen as going on "state occasions with women mounted on elephants, with trumpets, flags, etc., husbands and vizirs following at an interval."[1] This is strik but it is impossible to accept the evidence about the elep without strong corroboration. These would

[1] ...'s *French Trans.*, vol. i, pp. 67, 8.

at all times have been highly inconvenient guests upon the little Maldive Isles, and we gather from Ibn Batuta that in his time (and Marignolli's) there were but one horse and one mare on the whole metropolitan island. Nor could our author with any show of reason call these little clusters, with their produce of cowries and coco-nuts, "the finest *island* in the world." We might perhaps get over the statement about the latitude, as wiser men than Marignolli made great mistakes in such matters. But where are we to find a "very lofty and almost inaccessible mountain" in the Maldives? You might as well seek such a thing on the Texel.

We may remember that Odoric in his quaint idiom terms Java "the second best of all islands that exist," whilst the historic pictures on the palace walls of Saba rather strikingly recal what the same friar tells us about the like in the palace of the Kings of Java, and I should be quite content to accept Java with Meinert, if we could find there any proof of the frequency of female sovereignty. I quote below the only two traces of this that I have been enabled to discover.[1] Though I do not think it so probable, it is just possible that some province of Sumatra

[1] The chronology of Javanese history up to the establishment of Islam is very doubtful, and it is difficult to say how far either of the following instances of female rule might suit the time of Marignolli's voyage.

1. An ineffectual attempt having been made by Ratu Dewa, a native of Kuningan in the province of Cheribon, who had been entrusted with the administration of Gálu, to maintain an authority independent of Majapahit, he lost his life in the struggle, and his widow Torbita, *who persevered and was for a time successful*, was at length overcome and went over to Majapahit.

2. Merta Wijaya, fifth prince of Majapahit, left two children, a daughter named Kanchana Wungu, and a son, Angka Wijaya, who according to some authorities ruled jointly. The *princess, however, is better known as an independent sovereign*, under the title of Prabu Kanya Kanchana Wungu (see *Raffles, Hist. of Java*, ii, 107 and 121).

This second instance seems the most pertinent, and as the fifth prince of Majapahit, according to Walckenaer's correction of the chronology, came to the throne in 1322, the time appears to suit fairly. (See *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, xv (1842), p. 224 *seqq*).

The stories of Elias (or Khidr) would be gathered from the Mahomedan settlers here, as those of Adam and Cain were gathered (as we shall see) by our traveller in Ceylon.

may be meant. We know that island to have been called Java by the Mahomedan navigators, as may be seen in Marco Polo, Ibn Batuta, and the Catalan Map, in which last the great island named *Jana* (for Java) seems certainly to represent Sumatra. And, curiously enough, in this map we find towards the north end of the island *Regio Feminarum*, with the effigy of a queen. Also Ida Pfeiffer, during her wanderings in Sumatra, heard that there existed round the great Lake Eier Tau, a powerful people under female rule. *Valeant quantum!*

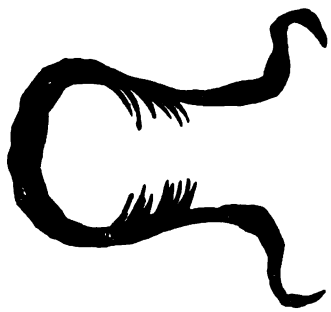
It is worth while, however, to note what Nikitin the Russian, in the succeeding century, says about a place called Shabat or Shabait, which he heard of in India. It was a very large place on the Indian seas, two months' voyage from Dabul, one month's voyage from Ceylon, and twenty days from Pegu. It produced abundance of silk, sugar, precious stones, sandal wood and elephants. The Jews called the people of Shabait Jews, but they were in truth neither Jews, nor Mahomedans, nor Christians, but of a different religion. They did not eat with Jews or Mahomedans, and used no meat. Everything was cheap, etc. If we could identify this place, perhaps we should find the Saba of Marignolli.

Though the latitude assigned to Saba applies correctly to Java and not to Sumatra, we must remember that Marco Polo there speaks with wonder of the country's lying so far to the south that the Pole Star could not be seen. And in a very curious contemporary reference to Polo,[1] the author says of the Magellanic clouds: "In the country of the Zingi there is seen a star as big as a sack. I know a man who saw it, and he told me that it had a faint light like a piece of cloud, and is

[1] *Petri Aponensis Medici ac Philosophi Celeberrimi Conciliator*, Venice, 1521, fol. 97. This Peter, physician and astrologer, born in 1250 at Abano near Padua, was professor of medicine at the university in that city. He was twice brought up by the Inquisition on charges of sorcery, and the second time he only escaped their hands by death. He was posthumously condemned, but the magistrates objected to further proceedings, and his body was burnt in effigy only.

This curious passage was first pointed out by Zurla (quoted by *Baldelli Bono, Il Milione*, ii, 486.) But I do not think he notices the woodcut, which is omitted in some editions. It has been thought worth copying here, as an approach at least to an autograph drawing by Marco Polo!

always in the south. I was told of this and other matters also by Marco the Venetian, the most extensive traveller and the most diligent inquirer whom I have ever known. He saw this same star under the Antartic; he described it as having a great tail, and drew a figure of it, *thus*. He also told me that he saw the Antarctic Pole at an altitude above the earth, apparently equal to the length of a soldier's lance, whilst the Arctic Pole was as much depressed. 'Tis from that place, he said, that they export to us camphor, lign-aloes, and brazil. He says the heat there is intense, and the habitations few. And these things he witnessed in a certain island at which he arrived by sea;...and there was no way of getting at this place except by sea." There can be no doubt that this reported oral relation of Marco referred to Sumatra, and the wording of the passage in regard to the Poles, as well as the description of the "other wonderful things in regard to the stars," lead me strongly to suspect that it was from this very passage of Peter of Abano that Master Lemon of Genoa pointed out those facts to Marignolli.



In quitting Saba our author took ship again, probably to return to Malabar on his way towards Europe, and was driven into Ceylon in the manner mentioned above. Here he fell into the hands of a Mussulman buccaneer, who had at this time got possession of a considerable part of the island; and was by him detained for some four months, and stript of all the Eastern valuables and rarities that he was carrying home.

Notwithstanding these disagreeable experiences, Marignolli appears to recur again and again with fascination to his recollections of Ceylon, and they occupy altogether a considerable space in these notices. The Terrestrial Paradise, if not identified in Marignolli's mind with a part of the island (for his expressions are hazy and ambiguous), is at least closely adjacent, and sheds a delicious influence over all its atmosphere and productions. This

idea is indeed so prominent that a short explanatory digression on the subject will not be inappropriate.

It was in the west that the ancients dreamed of sacred and happy islands, where the golden age had survived the deluge of corruption. But it was to the opposite quarter that the legends of the middle ages pointed, building as they did upon that garden which was planted "eastward in Eden"; and though it was in sailing west that Columbus thought he had found the skirts of Paradise near the mouths of Orinoco, it must be remembered that he was only seeking the "far East" by a shorter route.

What has been written on the Terrestrial Paradise would probably fill a respectable library. Marignolli's idea of it was evidently the same as that which seems to have been generally entertained in his age, viz., that of a great mountain rising in ineffable tranquillity and beauty far above all other earthly things, from which came tumbling down a glorious cataract, dividing at the foot into four great rivers, which somehow or other, underground or over, found their several ways to the channels of Hiddekel and Euphrates, and of such other two streams as might be identified with Gihon and Phison. This mountain was frequently believed to rise to the sphere of the moon, an opinion said to be maintained even by such men as Augustine and Bede.[1]

The localities assigned to Paradise have been infinitely various. Old oriental tradition was satisfied to place it in Ceylon; but western belief more commonly regarded it as in the more extreme east, where John of Hese professes to have seen it. Cosmas,

[1] "*Joannes Hopkinsonius,*" however, who has disserted upon Paradise, judiciously stigmatizes this as a manifest figment. For, quoth he, is not the height of the moon according to Ptolemy and Alphraganus, seventeen times the earth's diameter; and would not such a mountain therefore require for a base *at least* the whole superficies of the terrestrial hemisphere, and deprive us of a great part of the sun's light? Joannes Tostatus therefore is more reasonable when he says that Paradise does not quite reach the moon, but rises into the third region of the air, and is higher than all other mountains of the earth by twenty cubits! (The same John thinks Paradise was or is about twelve miles long, and some thirty-six or forty in compass.) Of his mind is Ariosto when he speaks of

"La cima
Che *non lontana* con la superba bulza
Dal cerchio della Luna esser si stima."—(xxxiv, 48.)

(See *Hopkinsonius*, etc., in *Ugolini*, as quoted below, vii, pp. dcxi-xiii-xiv.)

again, considered it to lie with the antediluvian world beyond the ocean which encompasses the oblong plateau of the earth that we inhabit. Father Filippo the Carmelite thinks it lay probably in the bosom of Ararat, whilst Ariosto seems to identify it with Kenia or Kilimanjaro,—

> "Il monte ond' esce il gran fiume d' Egitto
> . . . . . .
> Ch' oltre alle nubi e presso al ciel si leva;
> Era quel Paradiso che terrestre
> Si dice, ove abitò già Adamo ed Eva."—(xxxiii, 109, 110.)

The map of Andrea Bianchi, at Venice, agrees with Marignolli, for it shows *Paradiso Terrestre* adjoining Cape Comorin, whilst the four rivers are exhibited as flowing up the centre of India,—one into the north of the Caspian, near *Agrican* (Astracan, viz., the Wolga); a second into the south of the Caspian, near Jilan (Araxes?); a third into the Gulf of Scanderoon (Orontes?); and the fourth, Euphrates.

Some other old maps and fictitious voyagers, such as John of Hese, assign a terrestrial position also to Purgatory. Dante, it will be remembered, has combined the sites of Purgatory and of the earthly Paradise, making the latter the delightful summit of the mountain whose steep sides are girt with the successive circles of purification.

And to conclude this matter in the words of Bishop Huet of Avranches: "Some have placed the terrestrial Paradise..... under the arctic pole; some in Tartary, on the site occupied now by the Caspian; some at the extreme south, in Terra del Fuego; many in the East, as on the banks of the Ganges, in the island of Ceylon, in China, beyond the sun-rising, in a place no longer habitable. Others in America, in Africa, in the equinoctial orient, under the equator, on the Mountains of the Moon. Most have set it in Asia; but of these, some in Armenia Major, some in Mesopotamia, in Assyria, in Persia, in Babylonia, in Arabia, in Syria, in Palestine. Some even would stand up for our own Europe; and some, passing all bounds of nonsense, have placed it at Hesdin in Artois, urging the resemblance to *Eden*."[1]

[1] *F. D. Huetii, Episc. Abrinc. Tract. de Situ Paradisi Terrest.* in *Ugolini, Thesaurus Antiq. Sacr.*, Venet., 1747, vii, p. dii. Also Cosmas in *Montfaucon, Coll. Nova Patrum*, ii, 131; *Peregrin. Joannis Hesei*, etc., *Antv.*, 1565, etc.

How, or in what company, Marignolli quitted Ceylon, he leaves untold. We only gather from very slight and incidental notices that he must have sailed to Hormuz, and afterwards travelled by the ruins of Babylon to Baghdad, Mosul, Edessa, Aleppo, and thence to Damascus, Galilee, and Jerusalem. The sole further trace of him on his way to Italy, is that he seems to have touched at Cyprus.

In 1353, according to Wadding, he arrived at Avignon, bringing a letter from the Khan to the Pope (now Innocent VI), in which the monarch was made to express the greatest esteem for the Christian faith, to acknowledge the subjection of his Christian lieges to the Pope, and to ask for more missionaries.

It was probably during the visit of the Emperor Charles IV[1] to Italy in 1354, to be crowned by the Pope at Rome, that he became acquainted with Marignolli, and made him one of his domestic chaplains. To this he was perhaps induced by curiosity to hear at leisure the relations of one who had travelled to the world's end; for, though mean in moral character, Charles was a man of intelligence, and an encourager of learning and the useful arts.[2]

In 1354 also the Pope rewarded our traveller with the bishopric of Bisignano in Calabria.[3] The bishop, however, seems to have been in no hurry to reside there; thinking perhaps that a man who had spent so many years of his life in travelling to Cathay and back, might well be excused from passing the whole of those that remained to him in the wilds of Calabria. He seems to have accompanied the Emperor on his return from Italy to his paternal

[1] Charles, son of John of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia, the blind warrior who fell at Crecy, was born in 1316, and in 1346 was elected emperor in place of the excommunicated Lewis of Bavaria.

[2] Dobner was not able to find the appointment of Marignolli among the archives of Charles's court at Prague, though he found several other nominations to that dignity, viz., as "*consiliarius, capellanus, familiaris et commensalis domesticus.*"

[3] 12th May, 1354 (*Ughelli, Italia Sacra*, as above). The small episcopal city of Bisignano, supposed to have been the ancient Besidiæ, stands on a hill to the east of the post-road between Castrovillari and Cosenza. It gives the title of prince to the Sanseverino family (*Murray*). Wadding notices the appointment of a Friar John to this bishopric, but seems not to have known that it was the legate whose return from Cathay he had recorded.

dominions;[1] whilst in 1356 we find him at Avignon, acting as envoy to the Pope from the republic of Florence; and in 1357 he is traced at Bologna by his grant of indulgence privileges to one of the churches in that city.[2]

It was, no doubt, during Marignolli's visit to Prague that the Emperor desired him to undertake the task of recasting the *Annals of Bohemia*. Charles would have shewn a great deal more sense if he had directed his chaplain to write a detailed narrative of his own eastern experiences. However, let us be thankful for what we have. The essential part of the task set him was utterly repugnant to the Tuscan churchman. He drew back, as he says himself, "from the thorny thickets and tangled brakes of the Bohemian chronicles"; from "the labyrinthine jungle of strange names, the very utterance of which was an impossibility to his Florentine tongue." And so he consoled himself under the disagreeable duty imposed on him, by interpolating his chronicles, *à propos de bottes*, with the recollections of his Asiatic travels, or with the notions they had given him of Asiatic geography. It might have been hard, perhaps, to drag these into a mere chronicle of Bohemia; but in those days every legitimate chronicle began from Adam at latest, and it would have been strange if this did not afford latitude for the introduction of any of Adam's posterity.

Chronicle and reminiscences alike slept in Prague cloister dust for some four centuries. During all that time Marignolli's name as a Bohemian chronicler is only twice alluded to, and that by authors strange to nearly all beyond Bohemian boundaries; one

[1] Marignolli's most distinct mention of having been at Prague is found at p. 136 (of Dobner), in introducing a chapter entitled "*Miraculum de Incisione digiti Scti Nicolai.*" He says this finger was sent to the Emperor with other reliques by the Pope, "and it will not be irrelevant to state," he proceeds, "a new miracle which mine own eyes have seen and mine own hands have handled," etc.; and then tells his story about blood flowing when the Emperor pricked the finger, etc. Now, according to Dobner, Hagecius a Bohemian chronicler ascribes this story to 1353. This is probably wrong, otherwise the Emperor must have called Marignolli to Prague previous to his own visit to Italy.

[2] *Sbaralea*, as above. In the grant of indulgence he speaks of himself as administering for Richard Archbishop of Nazareth, a brother of his order. The diocese of Nazareth, created in honour of the name, had a scattered jurisdiction chiefly in the kingdom of Naples (*Ughelli*, vol. vii).

of whom, moreover, does not seem to have read him.[1] It was not till 1768 that he became accessible to the world in the second volume of unpublished monuments of Bohemian history, edited by the Reverend Gelasius Dobner, member of an educational order.[2] Dobner's qualifications for dealing with Bohemian history were probably superior to what he exhibits in commenting on Asiatic travels and geography. His notes on the latter subjects are often astonishing indeed, and are calculated amply to justify the foresight of his godfathers and godmothers in the name they gave him.

But though the account of Marignolli's journeys became thus *accessible* to the world, it only transferred its sleep from manuscript to type; for no one seems to have discovered these curious interpolations in a Bohemian chronicle till 1820, when an interesting paper on the subject was published by Mr. J. G. Meinert in the Transactions of the Scientific Society of Bohemia.[3] He adopted the plan of extracting from Dobner all that bore upon Marignolli's travels, and then rearranging the passages in as orderly and continuous a form as they admitted of, accompanying the whole with an intelligent commentary.

An essay on Marignolli's travels has also been published by Professor Kunstmann in his series of papers already alluded to.[4] To both of these articles I have been indebted for occasional suggestions, and especially for indications of some of the illustrative sources which I have followed up. But my work was far advanced before I met with Kunstmann.

The time when Marignolli digested the chronicles, and salted them with his recollections, cannot be precisely determined. All that can be said positively is, that it was *after* his nomination as bishop (for that dignity is specified in the title and body of the

[1] These are, according to Dobner, Hagecius, and Matthias Bolealuzky, a historian of the seventeenth century.

[2] *Monumenta Historica Bohemiæ nusquam antehac edita*, etc., *Collegit*, etc., P. Gelasius Dobner a S. Catherina, *Clericis Regularibus Scholarum Piarum*, tom. i, Prague, 1764; tom. ii, *ib.*, 1768.

[3] *Abhandl. der K. Böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol. vii. "Johannes von Marignola Minderen Bruders und Pabstlichen Legaten Reise in das Morgenland, etc. Aus dem Latein übersetzt, geordnet und erläutert von J. G. Meinert, etc."

[4] See p. 39 *supra*.

chronicle, see p. 335), and *previous* to the death of Innocent VI, of whom he speaks in the last paragraph of his book as still reigning; *i.e.*, between May 1354 and September 1362. But there can be little doubt that he wrote the book during his visit to Prague in 1354 or 1355.

It has been already said that Marignolli must have been an old man when he wrote these recollections; and I think readers will assent to this, though it has been found impossible in the translation to avoid softening his peculiarities. There are often vivid remembrance and graphic description of what he has seen; but these are combined with the incontinent vanity of something like second childhood, and with an incoherent lapse from one subject to another, matched by nothing in literature except the conversation of Mrs. Nickleby. His Latin is of a bad sort of badness. The Latin of Jordanus is bad in one sense. When he says "*istud ales quod vocatur rhinocerunta,*" he utters almost as many blunders as words; but he is nearly always perfectly and vividly intelligible. The Latin of Marignolli is bad because it is the hazy expression of confused thoughts.[1] The supposition that Marignolli was at this time advanced in years, and moreover not looked on as very wise in his generation, is confirmed by a curious letter bearing to be addressed to him by a Bishop of Armagh, which

[1] As an example of Marignolli's incoherence take the original of a passage in Dobner, p. 100 (see below, in chapter *Concerning Clothing of our First Parents*).

"Ideo videtur sine assercione dicendum quod non pelliceas tunicas est legendum sed filiceas. Nam inter folia nargillorum de quibus supra dictum est nascuntur fila ad modum tele staminis quasi grossi et rari sicci de quibus eciam hodie fiunt apud illos et apud Judeos vestes pro pluvia rusticorum qui vocantur Camalli portantes seu onera et eciam homines et mulieres portant super scapulas in lecticis de quibus in Canticis: ferculum fecit sibi Salomon de lignis Libani, id est lectulum portatilem sicut portabar ego in Zayton et in India. Unam talem vestem de filis illis camallorum non camelorum portavi ego usque Florenciam et dimisi in sacristia Minorum similem vesti Iohannis Baptiste. Nam pili camelorum sunt delicacior lana que sit in mundo post sericum. Fui enim aliquando cum infinitis camelis et pullis camelorum in deserto vastissimo descendendo de Babilon confusionis versus Egiptum per viam Damasci cum Arabibus infinitis. Nec in Seyllano sunt cameli sed elephantes innumeri qui licet sint ferocissimi raro tamen nocent homini peregrino. Ego equitavi super unum Regine Sabe qui videbatur habere usum racionis si non esset contra fidem."

Dobner turned up among the records of the Emperor Charles's time in the Metropolitan chapter library at Prague. It may be gathered from the letter that some intention had been intimated, on the part of higher ecclesiastical authorities, of sending Marignolli to Ireland in connexion with questions then in debate with the writer. The wrath of the latter seems to have been sorely stirred at this intimation, and he turns up the lawn sleeves and brandishes the shillelagh in the following style of energetic metaphor. We can hardly read the letter without a feeling that it ought to have been dated from Tuam rather than Armagh. But the writer turns out to have been one who had high claims to respect.[1]

"Reverend Father and very dear Friend!

"What those honourable gentlemen — De —, and — De — have told of your behaviour is anything but fitting in a man of your grey hairs and superior pretensions. And the message which your Reverence sent me by them is a poor sample of your prudence.

"By the help of the Lord and the right that was on my side did not I exterminate ———, the flower of your Order? Have not I bate him already in fair fight, and am I going to stand in fear of any of the rest of ye? Sure nothing is deficient in the present conjuncture, but that the conquering hero should receive the prize, and that by the blessing of God the crown of victory should descend to decorate his troyumphant brows!

"A rich recompense must abide the pen which eradicated the briars and thorns from the garden of Holy Church, which sent the ugly faction of error to the right-about, and cleared the street for Catholic Truth to walk in!

"*I* am not afraid of your Reverence's coming. 'Tis not likely that the prospect of having you for antagonist would frighten *me;* me, who tore to rags the sophistries of the Englishmen, Okkam[2]

[1] Some local colour has seemed necessary to do justice to this letter in translation, so I subjoin the latter part as a sample of the original:— "... Veniat igitur inveteratus ille Bisanensis Episcopus, Veniat! (Quis ille qui se Apostolum Orientis in curiâ Cæsaris aupullose denominat?) ut experiatur in opera quid somnia sua prodesse valeant. Nam si canum latrantium juventuti intersit vincula nostræ provisionis industria, facile quidem palpitantem senio molossum ligare curabimus, cui jam neque vocis claritas, neque scientiæ habilitas suffragantur."

[2] William Ockham or Occam, an English Franciscan, very eminent

and Burley,[1] and the like, when they tried to spread a flimsy veil over the web of lies that they were weaving; me who had stopped their bootless barking with the words of piety and truth! Let him come on then (say we), that old beggar of a Bisignano Bishop! Let him come on! We'll take the measure of him, though he does paycock about the Kaisar's Court and call himself (save the mark) the Aposthle of the East! We'll let him find out what good his doting dreams will do him in a practical question. 'Twill be a pity if I, who have muzzled a whole pack of yelping hounds, find it a hard matter to put a collar on a poor old wheezing tyke, who has scarcely a bark left in him, and never had the least repute for brains!"

Dobner does not identify the writer of this letter, but there can be no doubt that it was Richard Fitz Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, a strenuous adversary of the Franciscans and other mendicant orders, who however proved too strong for him at last, and brought him into trouble which he did not survive.[2]

among the schoolmen. He was provincial of his order in England, and as such took a prominent part at a council held at Assisi in 1322 in support of the strict obligation to poverty. It was perhaps on this question that he had been at war with the Archbishop of Armagh. Ockham took part with Corbarius the Anti-pope, and was excommunicated by John XXII. He took refuge with the Emperor Lewis the Bavarian, who was under the like ban, and died at an advanced age at the convent of his order in Munich, in 1347. (*Cave*, App., p. 28; *Biog. Universelle.*)

[1] Walter Burley, another eminent English Schoolman, and tutor to Edward III, born at Oxford 1275, died 1357 (some say 1337).

[2] A native of Dundalk; he was held in high esteem by Edward III, and became successively Professor of Theology at Oxford, Dean of Lichfield, Chancellor of the University (1333), and Archbishop of Armagh (1347). In his constant war against the friars we are told that "*eorum vanam et superbam paupertatem Oxonii in lecturis theologicis* salse vellificare solebat; *episcopus vero factus* acriori calamo conflxit;" statements which from the style of his letter can be well believed. They also appear to disprove the allegation of Wadding that Fitz-Ralph's enmity to the friars first arose out of the resistance of the Franciscans of Armagh to a piece of injustice on the part of the archbishop.

Some sermons which he preached in London in 1356 against the friars and the profession of voluntary poverty gave great offence. They accused him of heresy, and had him cited to Avignon where he was long detained. The questions perhaps involved very serious consequences to those who rashly stirred them, for only four years before, two Franciscans, for holding wrong opinions concerning the principle of poverty (though probably in a direction opposite to Fitz Ralph's) had been burnt

This is the last that we can trace of Marignolli. The time of his death is unknown; nor has even the date of his successor's nomination to Bisignano been recovered, so as to fix it approximately.[1]

It only remains to say a word about the MSS. of Marignolli's chronicle. That from which Dobner edited the work is described as a paper folio, written partly at the end of the fourteenth century and partly at the beginning of the fifteenth. It was then in the Library of the Brethren of the Cross, or Passionists, in the old town of Prague; but when Meinert wrote his essay it had been transferred to the Royal University Library. This MS. was supposed to be unique, but in the St. Mark's Library at Venice I have seen a partial copy, apparently of the fifteenth century, embracing all the most important part of the Asiatic notices.[2] Its differences from Dobner's edition were very trifling, and it contained the same error as to the date of the legation's departure from Avignon. But it has given distinctly the reading of a few names which had probably been misread by Dobner, such as *Manci* and *Mangi* where he read *Maugi*, *Mynibar* where he read *Nymbar*, *Thana* for *Chana*, with a very few other differences of more doubtful character.

to death in the Pope's own city of Avignon. So the archbishop seeing that the authorities were going against him, retired (according to Wadding) to Belgium, probably on his way to England, and died there 16th December, 1359 or 1360; (Cave says, however, that he died at Avignon, 13th November, 1360).

It is pleasant to see that when Luke Wadding the Franciscan annalist treats of this worthy, the Irishman is stronger in him than the Friar. "Some," he says, "have counted Fitz Ralph a heretic, but undeservedly; he sinned more from exuberant intellect than from perversity of will." He was deemed a saint in Ireland. His best title to the respect of posterity rests on his claim to have translated the Scriptures into Irish; the whole, according to Fox; the New Testament, according to Bale. He left many other works, chiefly controversial, of which some have been printed. One discourse which he delivered at Avignon in defence of his sermons against the friars may be seen in the *Monarchia Sacri Rom. Imperii* of Goldastus. (*Wadding, An. Min.* an. 1357, § 4-9; *Cave, Script. Eccl.*, Oxon., 1743, in *Append.*); *Baluzii Vit. Pap. Avenion*, i, 323; *Goldasti*, etc., ii, p. 1392).

[1] *Ughelli*, u. s.

[2] Bibl. Marciana, Class. x, Codd. Latt. clxxxviii, ff. 243-263. It ends with that chapter of the second book which treats of Roman history. The volume contains a variety of other transcripts connected with Papal and Bohemian history.

RECOLLECTIONS OF TRAVEL IN THE EAST, BY JOHN DE' MARIGNOLLI,

PAPAL LEGATE TO THE COURT OF THE GREAT KHAN, AND AFTERWARDS BISHOP OF BISIGNANO.

THE author begins by announcing his intention of dividing his work into Three Books, viz., I. *Thearchos*, or the History of the World from the Creation to the Building of Babel; II. *Monarchos*, or the History of Kings, from Nimrod down to the Franks and Germans, and so to the Kingdom of Bohemia; III. *Ierarchos*, or the Ecclesiastical History, from Melchizedek to Moses and Aaron, to the Foundation of Christianity, and so to the Roman Pontiffs and the Bishops of Bohemia in order.

After speaking of the Creation the author comes to treat of Paradise, "Eastward in the place called Eden, beyond India," and this launches him at once on his reminiscences as follows:

And now to insert some brief passages of what I have seen myself. I, Friar John of Florence, of the order of Minors, and now unworthy Bishop of Bisignano, was sent with certain others, in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and thirty [eight],[1] by the holy Pope Benedict the Eleventh,[2] to carry letters and presents from the apostolic see to the Kaan or chief Emperor of all the Tartars, a sove-

[1] In both MSS. this is *tricesimo quarto*, but beyond question from a clerical error, as there is no doubt about the true year. Probably in the original MS. VIII was taken for IIII.

[2] *Undecimo* in the Venice MS.; Dobner has *duodecimo*. This Pope is sometimes XI, sometimes XII; Benedict XI being in the latter case an antipope.

reign who holds the sway of nearly half the eastern world, and whose power and wealth, with the multitude of cities and provinces and languages under him, and the countless number, as I may say, of the nations over which he rules, pass all telling.

We set out from Avignon in the month of December, came to Naples in the beginning of Lent, and stopped there till Easter (which fell at the end of March), waiting for a ship of Genoa, which was coming with the Tartar envoys whom the Kaan had sent from his great city of Cambalec to the Pope, to request the latter to despatch an embassy to his court, whereby communication might be established, and a treaty of alliance struck between him and the christians; for he greatly loves and honours our faith. Moreover the chief princes of his whole empire, more than thirty thousand in number, who are called Alans, and govern the whole Orient, are Christians either in fact or in name, calling themselves *the Pope's slaves*, and ready to die for the *Franks*. For so they term us, not indeed from France, but from Frank-land.[1] Their first apostle was Friar John, called De Monte Corvino, who seventy-two years previously, after having been soldier, judge, and doctor in the service of the Emperor Frederic, had become a Minor Friar, and a most wise and learned one.[2]

Howbeit on the first of May we arrived by sea at Con-

[1] "*Non a Francia sed a Franquia.*"

[2] "*Qui primo miles judex et doctor Friderici Imperatoris post* lxxii *annos factus frater minor.*" A perplexing passage, owing to some error of the author's. Montecorvino could have been but three years old when Frederick II died in 1250. Dobner and Meinert assume that Marignolli *meant* John de Plano Carpini, who went on a mission from Pope Innocent IV to Tartary in 1246; but *he* was no apostle of Cathay; nor does there seem reason for believing that he was ever soldier or judge. No doubt one takes a liberty in rendering "post lxxii annos" by "seventy-two years previously;" but if it does not mean that, *what* does it mean? In 1266, which would be seventy-two years previous to 1338, John of Montecorvino was about twenty years old and might have become a friar. The Venice MS. has "*pts* lxxii *annos*," but I find no light in that.

stantinople, and stopped at Pera till the feast of St. John Baptist.[1] We had no idle time of it however, for we were engaged in a most weighty controversy with the Patriarch of the Greeks and their whole Council in the palace of St. Sophia. And there God wrought in us a new miracle, giving us a mouth and wisdom which they were not able to resist; for they were constrained to confess that they must needs be schismatics, and had no plea to urge against their own condemnation except the intolerable arrogance of the Roman prelates.[2]

Thence we sailed across the Black Sea, and in eight days arrived at Caffa, where there are Christians of many sects. From that place we went on to the first Emperor of the Tartars, Usbec, and laid before him the letters which we bore,[3] with certain pieces of cloth, a great war-horse, some strong liquor,[4] and the Pope's presents. And after the

[1] 24th June 1339.

[2] Five years before this two bishops had come from Rome to argue the point with the Patriarch. The latter was in great trouble, for the public mind was excited on the matter, and he was himself "unaccustomed to public speaking," whilst he knew most of his bishops to be grossly ignorant and incapable. (*Nicephori Gregoriæ* Hist. Byzant., x, 8). No wonder that Marignolli carried all before him with antagonists so painted by their own friends.

Mandeville relates how, to Pope John XXII's invitations to come under his authority, the Greeks "sent back divers answers, amongst others saying thus: 'We believe well that thy power is great upon thy subjects. We may not suffer thy great pride. We are not in purpose to fulfil thy great covetousness. The Lord be with thee; for our Lord is with us. Farewell! And no other answer might he have of them." (P. 136.) Many efforts were made to unite the churches from the time of Michael Palæologus, whose ambassador at the Council of Lyons in 1274 acknowledged the Pope's supremacy, to the time of John Palæologus, who in 1438 made a like acknowledgment. But these acts were never accepted by the Greek Church or people.

[3] The legates had letters from the Pope for Uzbek himself, for his eldest son Tanibek, and to a certain Franciscan, Elias the Hungarian, who was in favour with the latter. (See *Wadding* as before; and Append. to *Mosheim*, Nos. 81, 85, 86.)

[4] The word in Dobner is *Cytiacam*, which I can trace nowhere. That editor's note is: "Seu *sythiacam*, i.e., liquorem causticum, vulgo *rosoglio*,"

winter was over, having been well fed, well clothed, loaded with handsome presents, and supplied by the King with horses and travelling expenses, we proceeded to ARMALEC [the capital] of the Middle Empire. There we built a church, bought a piece of ground, dug wells,[1] sung masses and baptized several; preaching freely and openly, notwithstanding the fact that only the year before the Bishop and six other Minor Friars had there undergone for Christ's sake a glorious martyrdom, illustrated by brilliant miracles. The names of these martyrs were Friar Richard the Bishop, a Burgundian by nation, Friar Francis of Alessandria, Friar Paschal of Spain (this one was a prophet and saw the heavens open, and foretold the martyrdom which should befal him and his brethren, and the overthrow of the Tartars of Saray by a flood, and the destruction of Armalec in vengeance for their martyrdom, and that the Emperor would be slain on the third day after their martyrdom, and many other glorious things); Friar Laurence of Ancona, Friar Peter, an Indian friar who acted as their interpreter, and Gillott, a merchant.[2]

Towards the end of the third year after our departure from the Papal Court, quitting Armalec we came to the CYOLLOS

etc. But ζῦθος means drink of the beer genus. The Venice MS. has *Tyriacam*, probably for *Theriacam*. I imagine however that Dobner is substantially right, and that something strong and sweet is meant. Rubruquis, nearly a century before, took with him for Uzbek's ancestors *vinum muscatel*.

[1] "*Ubi fecimus ecclesiam, emimus aream*, fecimus fontes, *cantavimus missas*," etc. The *fontes* are not very intelligible. Prof. Kunstmann suggests *fonticum* (Ital. *fondaco*) for fontes, which is possible, as that word is blundered in another passage of this MS.

[2] On these Armalec martyrs see *ante*, p. 186 *seqq*. The statement of Marignolli that their death took place the year before his arrival, appears to fix it to 1339, instead of 1340 or later as stated by ecclesiastical chroniclers. Dobner goes eminently astray here, confounding these Franciscans, martyred in Turkestan in the fourteenth century, with those Franciscans who were martyred in Japan in the seventeenth, and whose formal canonization lately made so much noise. Accordingly he thinks it probable that Armalec was one of the Islands of Japan, and Saray another!

KAGON, i.e. to the Sand Hills thrown up by the wind. Before the days of the Tartars nobody believed that the earth was habitable beyond these, nor indeed was it believed that there was any country at all beyond. But the Tartars by God's permission, and with wonderful exertion, did cross them, and found themselves in what the philosophers call the torrid and impassable zone.[1] Pass it however the Tartars did; and so did I, and that twice. 'Tis of this that David speaketh in the Psalms, '*Posuit desertum,*' &c.[2] After having passed it we came to CAMBALEC, the chief seat of the Empire of the East. Of its incredible magnitude, population, and military array, we will say nothing.[3] But the Grand Kaam, when he beheld the great horses, and the Pope's presents, with his letter, and King Robert's too, with their golden seals, and when he saw us also, rejoiced greatly, being delighted, yea exceedingly delighted with everything,

[1] It is not quite clear whether he intends that *Cyollos Kagon* (or *Kagan* in Ven. MS.) *signifies* Sandhills. Their position is evidently to be sought on the northern verge of the Gobi, which is his Torrid Zone, and probably among those to the north-east of Kamil. Hereabouts indeed, in a Chinese work on Turkestan, we find repeated mention of the *Sha-Shan* or "Sand Mountains," from which flows one source of the Barkul Nur, north of Kamil. (See *Julien* in *N. Ann. des Voyages*, 1846, iii, 37-44.) One of the reports translated in *The Russians in Central Asia* (London, 1865, p. 111), speaking of the desert says: "From this region (about Yarkand) it gradually widens as it runs eastward, where it forms the vast Gobi, devoid of all vegetation...where the sand is heaped up in such lofty ridges that the inhabitants give them the name of '*Gag*' (mountain)." If this be no misprint we have here perhaps one element of the name used by Marignolli, and in the Turkish and Persian *Chúl*, a desert, written by Vambery *Tchöl* and *Tchöle*, we have perhaps the other.

[2] "*Posuit Desertum in stagna*" (*Ps.* cvi, our cvii, 35). Probably his twice having past the Torrid Zone is explained rightly by Meinert's suggestion that Marignolli regarded the Syrian Desert, which he crossed on his return to Europe, as only another part of the same belt of desolation. That the Torrid Zone was uninhabitable was maintained, as is well known, by Aristotle and many other philosophers.

[3] The author's expression is, "*de cujus magnitudine incredibili et populo, ordine militum sileatur*," of which I greatly doubt my having given a correct interpretation.

and treated us with the greatest honour.[1] And when I entered the Kaam's presence it was in full festival vestments, with a very fine cross carried before me, and candles and incense, whilst *Credo in Unum Deum* was chaunted, in that glorious palace where he dwells. And when the chaunt was ended I bestowed a full benediction, which he received with all humility.

And so we were dismissed to one of the Imperial apartments which had been most elegantly fitted up for us; and two princes were appointed to attend to all our wants. And this they did in the most liberal manner, not merely as regards meat and drink, but even down to such things as paper for lanterns, whilst all necessary servants also were detached from the Court to wait upon us. And so they tended us for nearly four years,[2] never failing to treat us with unbounded respect. And I should add that they kept us and all our establishment clothed in costly raiment. And considering that we were thirty-two persons, what the Kaam expended for everything on our account must have amounted, as well

[1] It is pleasing to find that though our legate has no place in the Chinese Annals, the "great horses" (*destrarii*), which he took with him, have. Under our year 1342 it is recorded that there were presented to the emperor horses of the kingdom of Fulang (*Farang*, Europe), of a race till then unknown in China. One of these horses was eleven feet six inches in length and six feet eight inches high, and was black all over, except the hind feet, which were white. This present was highly esteemed. (*De Mailla*, ix, 579, and *Gaubil, Hist. de Gentchis Can*, etc., p. 279.) Indeed Gaubil tells us in another work, "In the Imperial Palace is preserved with care a picture in which Shunti, the last emperor of the Yuen dynasty, is represented on a fine horse, of which all the dimensions are detailed. It is remarked that this horse was presented to Shunti by a foreigner of the kingdom of France" (! No, Père Gaubil, *non a Francia sed a Franquia !*) See *Tr. de la Chronol. Chin.*, p. 186. This vast animal was surely the prototype of the Destrier, which Mr. Millais painted under Sir Ysenbras some years ago.

[2] *Annos quasi quatuor*, whilst a little below he speaks of residing in Cambalec *annis quasi tribus*. It is possible that the first expression includes the whole time up to his embarking for India, but it cannot be determined.

as I can calculate, to more than four thousand marks. And we had many and glorious disputations with the Jews and other sectaries;[1] and we made also a great harvest of souls in that empire.

The Minor Friars in Cambalec have a cathedral church immediately adjoining the palace,[2] with a proper residence for the Archbishop, and other churches in the city besides, and they have bells too, and all the clergy have their subsistence from the Emperor's table in the most honourable manner.

And when the Emperor saw that nothing would induce me to abide there, he gave me leave to return to the Pope, carrying presents from him, with an allowance for three years' expenses, and with a request that either I or some one else should be sent speedily back with the rank of Cardinal, and with full powers, to be Bishop there;[3] for the office of Bishop is highly venerated by all the Orientals, whether they be Christians or no. He should also be of the Minorite Order, because these are the only priests that they are acquainted with; and they think that the Pope is always of that Order because Pope Girolamo was so who sent them that legate whom the Tartars and Alans venerate as a saint, viz., Friar John of Monte Corvino of the Order of Minorites, of whom we have already spoken.[4]

We abode in Cambalec about three years, and then we

[1] Of the ancient settlement of Jews in China, said to have taken place in the third century B.C., though others name a later date, some notice will be found in the *J. R. G. S.*, xxvii, 297. See also *Silv. de Sacy* in *Notices et Extraits*, vol. iv, and *Alvaro Semedo, Rel. della Cina*, 1643, p. 193, etc.

[2] See the building of this mentioned by Archbishop John in his letter at p. 206.

[3] A cardinal never came to China till the early part of the last century (Mezzobarba), and his mission did not prosper.

[4] By Pope Girolamo he means Friar Jerome Musci, Bishop of Palestrina, elected Pope as Nicholas IV, and who sent John of Monte Corvino on his distant mission. Dobner, having taken up the notion that Carpini is meant, says "*legendum Innocentius*;" but he is quite wrong. The

took our way through MANZI,[1] with a magnificent provision for our expenses from the Emperor, besides about two hundred horses; and on our way we beheld the glory of this world in such a multitude of cities, towns, and villages, and in other ways displayed, that no tongue can give it fit expression.

And sailing on the feast of St. Stephen,[2] we navigated the Indian Sea until Palm Sunday, and then arrived at a very noble city of India called COLUMBUM,[3] where the whole world's

Tartars looked on the Pope as the people of India (according to the common story) used to look on John Company, viz., as in a manner immortal. "*Quærebant enim de Magno Papâ,*" says Rubruquis, "*si esset ita senex sicut audierunt*" (p. 278).

[1] Dobner's book has here and afterwards *Mausi*, but this is probably from ignorance only. The Venice MS. has *Manci* and *Mansi* plainly enough.

[2] Here the chronology of the journey calls for remark. The last precise date afforded was St. John's Day, 1339. The succeeding winter is passed at the court of Uzbek. Supposing the party to quit Sarai in May 1340, they would reach Armalec about September (see *Pegolotti*, pp. 285-6), and they did not quit that city till near the end of the third year from their leaving Avignon, viz., late in 1341. The journey from Armalec to Peking would occupy four or five months, but probably much more, as they appear (see *infra*, near the end) to have spent some time at Kamil. Hence perhaps they did not arrive at Peking earlier than the latter part of 1342, but not later than that, as the Chinese record about the horses fixes the year. The St. Stephen's day (26th December) on which he sailed from Zayton could not have been *earlier* than that of 1346, but might have been later. Meinert takes the day for 2nd August (*Stephen I, Pope and Martyr*), but as Kunstmann justly points out, that would be no season for sailing from China. The latter fixes the date to 1347, as Easter fell late in 1348, and more time is thus allowed for the voyage to Malabar. We will assume it so.

[3] Ritter over hastily identifies Marignolli's Columbum with Columbo in Ceylon, and deduces that pepper was then a staple of that island (*Erdkunde*, v, 688), though as the author says that the "whole world's pepper" was produced there, this interpretation would imply that none was produced in Malabar, the Pepper Metropolis from time immemorial. Even Dobner is more judicious here, and concludes that Columbo is *not* meant, as the place is clearly placed by Marignolli on the continent. But then he continues, entirely losing this gleam of judgment, that it was in *Nimbar* (see note further on), and so could not be in *Malabar*, "*adeoque in regno* Indostan. *An fortassis urbs* Lahor *sit, judicium penes lectorem esto.*" One

pepper is produced. Now this pepper grows on a kind of vines, which are planted just like in our vineyards. These vines produce clusters which at first are like those of the wild vine, of a green colour, and afterwards are almost like bunches of our grapes, and they have a red wine in them which I have squeezed out on my plate as a condiment. When they have ripened, they are left to dry upon the tree, and when shrivelled by the excessive heat the dry clusters are knocked off with a stick and caught upon linen cloths, and so the harvest is gathered.

These are things that I have seen with mine eyes and handled with my hands during the fourteen months that I stayed there.[1] And there is no roasting of the pepper, as authors have falsely asserted, nor does it grow in forests, but in regular gardens; nor are the Saracens the proprietors but the Christians of St. Thomas. And these latter are the masters of the public steel-yard, from which I derived, as a perquisite of my office as Pope's legate, every month a hundred gold *fan*, and a thousand when I left.[2]

can only say with Friar Jordanus, "Wonderful!" For further remarks on Columbum, see note to *Odoric*, p. 71.

Probably the name should be rendered *Columbus* as in the only nominative I can find, viz. in Jordanus's letter at p. 227. But I have followed the French editor of Jordanus's *Mirabilia* in calling it Columbum, and it is not worth while to alter what may have authority which I have overlooked.

[1] Our author afterwards calls this time a year and four months.

[2] As to the pepper, *Fr. Jordanus*, p. 27, and *Ibn Batuta*, iv, 77. Marignolli's denial of its growing in forests is probably a slap at the Beato Odorico (see p. 74 *ante*); yet up to the present century there was a tract on the Malabar coast called "the Pepper Jungle" *Buchanan's Christ. Resear.*, p. 111). Father Vincenzo Maria (Rome, 1672) still speaks of the Christians of St. Thomas as having the pepper chiefly in their hands. Dobner, Meinert, and Kunstmann all strangely misunderstand "*qui habent* stateram *ponderis totius mundi*," as if it meant something about the Christians having a right to an export tax on the pepper. Yet in this very Chronicle (*Dobner*, p. 164-5) they might have found a passage in which *statera* can mean nothing but a steelyard. It is in fact used for the Italian *stadera*. So in a correspondence quoted further on, one of the Florentine demands on the Sultan of Egypt is "*che possino tenere* stadere

There is a church of St. George there, of the Latin communion, at which I dwelt.[1] And I adorned it with fine paintings, and taught there the holy Law. And after I had been there some time I went beyond the glory of Alexander the Great, when he set up his column (in India). For I erected a stone as my landmark and memorial, in the corner of the world over against Paradise, and anointed it with oil! In sooth it was a marble pillar with a stone cross upon it, intended to last till the world's end. And it had the Pope's arms and my own engraved upon it, with inscriptions both in Indian and Latin characters. I consecrated and blessed it in the presence of an infinite multitude of people, and I was carried on the shoulders of the chiefs in a litter or palankin like Solomon's.[2]

nelli loro fondachi," that they may have an authorized steelyard in their factories. The value of the *fanam* (Marignolli's *fan*) has varied so much that it is difficult to estimate what the legate received in this way. Marsden makes the *fanam* 2½d. (*Marco Polo*, p. 656). In the beginning of last century, Visscher says the *fanam* of Cochin was about 1½d., that of Calicut 6d., and that of Quilon 15d. Late in the same century Friar Paolino states the Paliacat *fanam* at 9 *sous* or 4½d., that of Tanjore or Calicut at 6d. or 7d., and that of Madura at 3½d. And Ibn Batuta (iv, 174) tells us that 100 *fanams* were equal to 6 *dinars*, which would make the *fanam* nearly 8d. This last may be taken as probably about the value of our author's *fan*. So his monthly perquisite would be about £3 : 6, and the present he received at parting £33. If we may judge from the calculations based on Ibn Batuta's statement of prices at Dehli in his time, the money would represent at least ten times as much wealth as at present.

[1] This church "*Latinorum*" was probably founded by Jordanus, and was possibly the same old church *fatto al modo nostro mediocre* which the Portuguese were taken to see on their first visit to *Colom*, though that was then entitled S. Maria (*Ramusio*, i, f. 146). Day indeed (*Land of the Permauls*, p. 4) mentions a church dedicated to St. George, within which may be seen a painting representing God the Father. But this is at Curringhacherry, ten miles from Cochin, and could scarcely have been the church of our author. If Jordanus or any successor in the episcopate had survived at Columbum surely Marignolli would have alluded to the fact? He says below in quitting the place "*valefaciens fratribus*," which perhaps implies that there were friars there.

[2] The Column or Columns of Alexander formed the subject of some legend that grew out of the memory of the altars on the Hyphasis. Imagination was dissatisfied with Alexander's turning back from India

So after a year and four months I took leave of the brethren, and after accomplishing many glorious works I

scarcely entered—(does not one still feel disappointment every time the story is read?)—and in defiance of history prolonged his expedition to the ends of the earth. We have seen before that the cave temples of Western India were ascribed to him (*ante*, p. 57); Tennent cites a Persian poem describing his journey to Ceylon and Adam's Peak (*Ceylon*, i, 605); whilst Friar Mauro's Map attributes to Alexander the chains that still aid pilgrims in climbing that mountain. John of Hese likewise, in his imaginary travels, finds within a mile of the Mountain of Paradise another mountain, on which Alexander is said to have stood when he claimed tribute also from Paradise. Earlier than these the versifying geographers in their apparent identification of *Kolis* (the *idea* of which is Cape Comorin, though the name may have belonged to a more eastern promontory) with Aornos, seem to indicate that in their notions Alexander had attained the furthest extremity of India. Thus Dionysius—

> "παρὰ τέρματα Κωλίδος ἴκης
> Ἡ δ' ἤτοι προνένευκεν ἐπ' Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδίνην
> Ἡλίβατος ταχινοῖσι δυσέμβατος οἰωνοῖσιν
> Τυδνεκα μιν καὶ φῶτες ἐπικλείουσιν Ἄορνιν."—(*Orb. Descrip.*, v. 1148.)

Dobner indeed refers to a passage in the same author as speaking of the columns erected by Alexander on the ocean, but though otherwise appropriate, it is of Bacchus that the geographer speaks; it runs in the paraphrase of Festus Avienus:

> "Oceani Eoi prætenti denique Bacchus
> Littore, et extremâ terrarum victor in orâ
> Ducit laurigeros post Indica bella triumphos,
> Erigit et geminas telluris fine columnas."—(V. 1380.)

But the most appropriate illustration is in a passage of Mandeville quoted by Meinert from a German edition, but which I do not find in Wright's: "So he set up his token there as far as he had got, like as Hercules did on the Spanish Sea towards the sunset. And the token that Alexander set up towards the sunrising, hard by Paradise, hight Alexander's Gades, and that other hight Hercules's Gades: and these be great Pillars of Stone, that stand upon lofty mountains, for an eternal Sign and Token that no man shall pass beyond those pillars."

Was this pillar of Marignolli's that which the Dutch chaplain Baldæus thus mentions: "Upon the rocks near the sea shore of Coulang stands a Stone Pillar, erected there, as the inhabitants report, by St. Thomas; I saw the Pillar in 1662." Three hundred years of tradition might easily swamp the dim memory of John the Legate in that of Thomas the Apostle. Mr. Day (*Land of the Permauls*, p. 212) tells us that this pillar still exists, but Mr. Broadley Howard in a recent book (*Christians of St. Thomas*, p. 9) says in reference to the passage of Baldæus just quoted: "Mr. D'Albedhyll, the Master Attendant at Quilon, told me that he had seen the pillar, and that it was washed away a few years ago." I wish some one would still look for it!

went to see the famous Queen of SABA. By her I was honourably treated, and after some harvest of souls (for there are a few Christians there) I proceeded by sea to SEYLLAN, a glorious mountain opposite to Paradise. And from Seyllan to Paradise, according to what the natives say after the tradition of their fathers, is a distance of forty Italian miles; so that, 'tis said, the sound of the waters falling from the fountain of Paradise is heard there.[1]

CHAPTER CONCERNING PARADISE.

Now Paradise[2] is a place that (really) exists upon the earth surrounded by the Ocean Sea, in the regions of the Orient on the other side of Columbine India, and over against the mountain of Seyllan. 'Tis the loftiest spot on the face of the earth, reaching, as Johannes Scotus hath proven, to the sphere of the moon; a place remote from all strife, delectable in balminess and brightness of atmosphere, and in the midst whereof a fountain springeth from the ground, pouring forth its waters to water, according to the season, the Paradise and all the trees therein. And there grow all the trees that produce the best of fruits; wondrous fair are they to look upon, fragrant and delicious for the food of man. Now that fountain cometh down from the mount and falleth into a lake, which is called by the philosophers EUPHRATTES. Here it passes under another water which is turbid, and issues forth on the other side, where it divides into four rivers which pass through Seyllan; and these be their names:[3]

[1] A MS. of the fifteenth century in the Genoese Archives, from which extracts are given by Gräberg de Hemso, says that the Four Rivers flow down from Paradise with such a noise that the people who inhabit round about those parts are born deaf! (*Annali di Geografia e di Statistica*, ii, App.) Akin to this is the myth of the dwellers in the extreme east hearing a tremendous noise made by the sun in rising (*Carpini*, p. 661).

[2] See Introductory Notice to Marignolli, p. 326.

[3] Considering how rarely in reality a plurality of rivers have a common

source, so rarely that in the discussions arising out of Captain Speke's great journey, it has even been denied that such a thing exists in nature, it is remarkable how frequent is the phenomenon in the traditions of many nations, and there must be something in the idea attractive to man's imagination.

The interpretation of the four rivers of Eden as literally diverging from one fount has long been abandoned by Catholics as well as Protestants; but in the middle ages, meeting perhaps that attraction to which allusion has been made, it was received to the letter, and played a large part in the geography both of Christendom and Islam; the possible traces of which remain stamped on the map of Taurus in the names of Sihun and Jihun given to the *Sarus* and the *Pyramus*. (See *Mas'udi*, i, 264, 270.) The most prominent instance of the tradition alluded to is that in both Brahmanical and Buddhist cosmogony which derives four great rivers of India, the Indus, the Sutlej, the Ganges, and the Sardha from one Holy Lake at the foot of Kilas. It is also firmly believed by the Hindus that the Sone and the Nerbudda rise out of the same pool near Amarkantak. The natives were so convinced that there was a communication between the Jumna and the Saraswati, which flows towards the Sutlej, that an officer of the Revenue Survey reported it to government as a fact, and my then chief (now M. General W. E. Baker) was desired to verify it. We found that the alleged communication was supposed to take place *gupti gupti*, i. e., in a clandestine manner! Hiwenthsang relates that from the Dragon Lake on the high lands of Pamer one stream descends to the Oxus, another to the Sita, which Ritter supposes to be the river of Cashgar, but which perhaps is the mystic source of the Hoang Ho. In a later form of the same tradition, reported by Burnes, the Oxus, Jaxartes, and Indus are all believed to rise in the Sirikul on Pamer. The rivers of Cambodia, of Canton, of Ava, and a fourth (perhaps the Salwen) were regarded by the people of Laos as all branches of one river; a notion which was probably only a local adaptation of the Indian Buddhist tradition. A Chinese work mentioned by Klaproth describes the river of Siam as being a branch of the Hoang Ho. Even in the south of New Zealand we find that the Maoris have a notion that the three chief rivers known to them issue from a common lake. These legendary notions so possessed travellers and geographers that they seemed to assume that the law of rivers was one of dispersion and not of convergence, and that the best natural type of a river system was to be found, not in the veins of a leaf, but in the body of a spider. Thus the Catalan map of 1375, in some respects the most remarkable geographical production of the Middle Ages, represents all the great rivers of Cathay as radiating from one source to the sea. The misty notions of the great African lakes, early gathered by the Portuguese, condensed themselves into one great sea, that fed the sources not only of the Nile but of the Niger, Congo, Zambesi, and several more. The Hindu myths suggested to map makers a great Lake Chimay in Tibet, from which dispersed all the great rivers of Eastern Asia; Ferdinand Mendez Pinto declared, perhaps believed, that he had visited it, and

*

GYON[1] is that which circleth the land of Ethiopia where are now the negroes, and which is called the Land of Prester John. It is indeed believed to be the Nile, which descends into Egypt by a breach made in the place which is called ABASTY. The christians of St. Matthew the Apostle are there, and the Soldan pays them tribute on account of the river, because they have it in their power to shut off the water, and then Egypt would perish.[2]

every atlas to the beginning of last century, if not later, repeated the fiction. A traveller of the seventeenth century, the general of his order and therefore perhaps no vulgar friar, says that *he saw* the Ganges near Goa, where one of its branches entered the sea. And far more recent and distinguished geographers have clung to the like ideas. Ritter more than half accepts the Chinese story of the Dragon Lake of Pamer. Buchanan Hamilton, who did so much for the geography both of India and of Indo-China, not only accepted the stories of the Burmese regarding the radiation of rivers, but himself suggested like theories, such as that of an anastomosis between the Brahmaputra and the Irawadi; whilst the old fancies of the African map makers have been revived in our own time. (See *Strachey*, in *J. R. G. S.*, vol. xxiii, first paper; *Ritter, Erdkunde*, vii, 496; *Burnes*, iii, 180; *Journ. Asiatique*, ser. ii, tom. x, 415; *In.*, xi, 42; *Burton*, in *J. R. G. S.*, xxix, 307; *Blaeu's Atlas*, Amsterdam, 1662, vol. x; *Coronelli, Atlante Veneto*, 1691, etc.; *Viaggi di P. Filippo*, etc., p. 230.)

[1] The Septuagint has Γηών for the Nile in *Jeremiah* ii, 18, and in *Ecclesiasticus*, xxiv, 37; from the former passage the term was adopted in the Ethiopic books. Many Fathers of the Church thought Gihon passed under ground from Paradise to reappear as the Nile, and the other rivers in like fashion. Ludolf quotes many examples of what he justly calls this foolish story of Gihon and its subterranean wanderings. But such notions were not originated by the church; for Pomponius Mela supposes the Nile to come under the sea from the antichthonic world, and other heathen writers believed it to be a resurrection of the Euphrates. (*Ludolf*, i. c. 8, § 10-12, and *Comment.*, pp. 119, 120; Note by *Letronne* in *Humbolt's Examen Critique*, etc., iii, 122, 123.)

[2] For *Abasty* in this paragraph the author probably wrote *Abascy*; (the *c* and *t* are constantly confounded), the *Abasci* of Polo, from the Arabic name of Abyssinia *Habsh*. Here again in the fourteenth century is Prester John in Africa (see *ante*, p. 182); as the Catalan Map and Sigoli also show him.

This tribute alleged to be paid by the Soldan of Egypt to the King of Ethiopia or Abyssinia is mentioned by Jordanus also (*Mirabilia*, p. 40), and he names the reported amount as five hundred thousand ducats, though he omits the ground of payment. It is also spoken of by Ariosto:

"Si dice che 'l Soldan Re dell' Egitto

The second river is called PHISON, and it goes through India, circling all the land of Evilach, and is said to go down

A quel Re dà tributo e sta soggetto,
Perch' è in poter di lui dal cammin dritto
Levare il Nilo e dargli altro ricetto,
E per questo lasciàr subito afflitto
Di fame il Cairo e tutto quel distretto.
Senapo detto è dai suddetti suoi;
Gli diciam Presto o Preteianni noi."—*Orl. Fur.*, xxxiii, 116.

The question will be found discussed in *Ludolf* (i., c. viii, § 76-92, and *Comment.*, pp. 130-132) *Num Rex Habessinorum Nilum divertere possit ne in Ægyptum fluat?* He refers to the Saracenic history of El Macini, in which we find it related that in the time of Michael, Patriarch of the Jacobites of Alexandria (who was elected in the year 1089, and ruled for nine years), "the Nile became excessively low, wherefore (the Sultan) Mostansir sent him (Michael) up to Ethiopia with costly presents. The king of the country sent out to meet him and received him with reverence, asking wherefore he had come. And he then set forth how the great deficiency of the Nile in Egypt was threatening destruction to that land and its people. The king upon this ordered the cut that had been made to divert the waters to be closed, so that the water might again flow towards Egypt, seeing that the Patriarch had come so far on that account. And the Nile rose three cubits in one night, so that all the fields of Egypt received ample water and could be sown. And the Patriarch returned with much credit to Egypt, and was loaded with gifts and honours by the Prince Mustansir." (*Histor. Saracen. a Georg. Elmacino*, by *Erpenius*, Lug. Bat., 1625, B. iii, c. 8.) The story is (briefly) noticed in Herbelot under the word *Nil*, and is told much as by Elmacini from the History of Egypt by Wassaif Shah, who says the famine had lasted seven years when the report reached Egypt of the Nile's having been diverted (*Notices et Extraits*, viii, p. 47); and also in De Castro's *Voyage of Stephen de Gama*. He says the thing was much talked of among the Abyssinians, and that it secured that people the privilege of passing through Egypt without paying tribute. (*Astley's Voyages*, i., 114.) Urreta, a Spanish Dominican writer, of whom Ludolf speaks with much contempt, says that the Pope wrote to Menas King of Ethiopia to turn off the Nile, and not to mind about the tribute of three hundred thousand sequins which he got from the Turk to keep it open. A certain Wanslebius, having been desired by Duke Ernest of Saxony to investigate this matter, reported that the Europeans in Egypt looked on the whole story as an Abyssinian rhodomontade, but afterwards in 1677 he claimed to have found a letter from a king of Abyssinia threatening the Sultan with the diversion of the Nile. It is also noticed by Ludolf that Albuquerque is stated by his son to have seriously contemplated this diversion, and to have often urged King Emanuel to send him miners for the job (*Ludolf*, u.s., and the others quoted above).

The legend is thus told as a fact also by Simon Sigoli, who travelled to

into CATHAY, where, by a change of name, it is called CARO-MORAN, i.e. Black Water, and there is found bdellium and the onyx stone. I believe it to be the biggest river of fresh water in the world, and I have crossed it myself. And it has on its banks very great and noble cities, rich above all in gold. And on that river excellent craftsmen have their dwelling, occupying wooden houses, especially weavers of silk and gold brocade, in such numbers (I can bear witness from having seen them), as in my opinion do not exist in the whole of Italy. And they have on the shores of the river an abundance of silk, more indeed than all the rest of the world put together. And they go about on their floating houses with their whole families just as if they were on shore. This I have seen. On the other side of Caffa the river is lost in the sands, but it breaks out again and forms the sea which is called BACUC, beyond THANA.[1]

Egypt, Sinai and Palestine with Leonardo Frescobaldi and other Florentines in 1384: "'Tis true that this soldan is obliged to pay a yearly ransom or homage to Prester John. Now this potentate Prester John dwells in India, and is a christian, and possesses many cities both of christians and of infidels. And the reason why the Soldan pays him homage is this, that whenever this Prester John chooses to open certain river sluices he can drown Cairo and Alexandria and all that country; and 'tis said that this river is the Nile itself which runs by Cairo. The said sluices stand but little open, and yet the river is enormous. And so it is for this reason, or rather from this apprehension, that the Soldan sends him every year a ball of gold with a cross upon it, worth three thousand gold bezants. And the lands of the Soldan do march with those of this Prester John." (*V. in Terra Santa*, etc., Firenze, 1862, p. 202).

[1] Dobner has *Chana* (the *c* for *t* again), but the Venice MS. has the name right, Thana, *i.e.*, Azov. In the confusions of this paragraph Marignolli outdoes himself. He jumbles into one river the Phison, Ganges (or Indus), Wolga (or Oxus), Hoang-Ho and Yangtse Kiang, and then turns them all topsy turvy. The *Kara-Muren*, or Black River of the Tartars, as he correctly explains it, is well known to be the Yellow River of the Chinese. But it is not a river whose shores and waters are crowded with the vast population described, and his descriptions here appear to be drawn from his recollections of the Yangtse Kiang. The river lost in the sands is perhaps the Oxus, which he would probably pass on his way from Sarai to Almalig, but he *may* mean the Wolga which he saw at Sarai, and which has the best claim to be said to form the Sea of Baku, *i.e.*, the

The third river is called TYGRIS. It passes over against the land of the Assyrians, and comes down near NYNEVE, that great city of three days' journey, to which Jonas was sent to preach; and his sepulchre is there. I have been there also, and stopped a fortnight in the adjoining towns which were built out of the ruins of the city. There are capital fruits there, especially pomegranates of wonderful size and sweetness, with all the other fruits that we have in Italy. And on the opposite side [of the river] is a city built out of the ruins of Nyneve, which is called MONSOL.[1]

Between that river and the fourth, there is a long tract of country bearing these names; viz., *Mesopotamia*, i.e. the land between the waters; *Assyria*, the land of Abraham and Job, where also is the city of King Abagarus, to whom Christ sent a letter written with his own hand, once a most fair and Christian city, but now in the hands of the Saracens. There also I abode four days in no small fear.

We come lastly to the fourth river, by name EUPHRATES, which separates Syria, Assyria, and Mesopotamia from the Holy Land. When we crossed it we were in the Holy Land. In this region are some very great cities, especially ALEP, in

Caspian (*Ethilia...faciens Mare Caspium*, says Roger Bacon). How he connects the Caspian and the Karamuren is puzzling. The Chinese have indeed a notion that the sources of the Hoang-Ho were originally in the mountains near Kashgar, whence their streams flowed into the Lop Nur, and thence diving under ground, issued forth as the Hoang-Ho. There was also an old notion that the waters of the country about Karashahr came from the Si-Hai or Caspian (*Timkowsky*, ii, 272); (*Fo-koue-ki*, p. 37; *Julien* in *N. A. des Voyages*, as quoted at p. 339). Something of these legends Marignolli may have heard, without quite digesting.

On this passage, with an amusing sense of his own superior advantages, Dobner observes: "Here Marignola shows himself excessively ignorant of geography; but we must pardon him, for in his day geographical studies had by no means reached that perfection which they have attained now."

[1] The ruins opposite Mosul are those called Nabi Yunus and Kouyunjik, well known from Mr. Layard's excavations and interesting books. A sketch showing the tomb of Jonah mentioned in the text, will be found at p. 131, vol. i, of *Nineveh and its Remains*. Ricold of Montecroce also mentions the traces and ramparts of Nineveh, and a spring which was called the Fount of Jonah.

which there are many christians who dress after the Latin fashion, and speak a language very near the French; at any rate like French of Cyprus.[1] Thence you come to Damascus, to Mount Lebanon, to Galilee, to Samaria, Nazareth, Jerusalem, and to the Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Then follows a chapter *Concerning the Trees of Paradise*, from which I extract a few lines.

[The trees] are there still in existence, as the *Pantheon* says;[2] and this is shown by the fruits and leaves which are sometimes carried forth by those rivers, and are known by their medicinal virtue and fragrant odours. Nor is this incredible; for in the adjoining provinces of India likewise there are trees which produce fruit of a marvellous kind every month.[3]

From the chapter *On the Transgression of our First Parents by Temptation of the Serpent.*

And they took the leaves of the fig-tree or plantain,[4] and

[1] "*Loquuntur linguam quasi Gallicam, scilicet quasi de Cipro.*"

"And French she spake both fayre and fetisely,
French of the school of Stratford-atte-Bowe,
For French of Paris was to her unknowe."

French no doubt was much spoken at Cyprus under the Lusignans.

[2] The *Pantheon* is the Universal Chronicle, so called, by Godfrey of Viterbo, an ecclesiastical writer who died in 1186. The work is to be seen in "*German. Scriptorum*, etc., *Tomus Alter, ex Bibl. Joannis Pistorii Nidarii*, Hanov., 1613." It is a very prolix affair, beginning with *De Divinâ Essentiâ ante omnem creationem*, and is largely interspersed with semi-doggrel hexameters and pentameters.

[3] According to Masudi some leaves of Paradise covered Adam's body when cast out. These were scattered by the winds over India, and gave birth to all the perfumes of that country. He also bore with him wheat, and thirty branches of the trees of the Garden, and from these come all our good fruits (*French Trans.*, i, 61). St. Athanasius also accounts for the aromatics of India by the spicy breezes from Paradise adjoining. (*Opera*, Paris, 1698, ii, 279.)

[4] "*Ficus seu musarum.*" That the leaves used for girdles by Adam and Eve were *plantain* leaves, is a Mahomedan tradition; and it is probably from this that the plantain has been called a *fig* in European languages, a name which seems to have little ground in any resemblance of the fruits, but which misled Milton perhaps to make the banyan the tree of the girdles.

made themselves girdles to hide their shame. . . . Then God pronounced sentence after the confession of their sin, first against the serpent that he should go upon his belly creeping on the earth (but I must say that I have seen many serpents, and very big ones too, that went with half the body quite erect, like women when they walk in the street, and very graceful to look upon, but not to be sure keeping this up for any length of time). . . .

And he made them coats of skins: so at least we commonly have it, *pelliceas*, "of fur," but we should do better to read *filiceas*, "of fibre;" because they were no doubt of a certain fibrous substance which grows like net-work between the shoots of the coco-palm;[1] I wore one of these myself till I got to Florence, where I left it. And God forbade Adam to eat of the Tree of Life. See, said He to the Angels, that they take not of the Tree of Life, and so live for ever. And straightway the Angel took Adam by the arm and set him down beyond the lake on the Mountain Seyllan, where I stopped for four months. And by chance Adam planted his right foot upon a stone which is there still, and straightway by a divine miracle the form of the sole of his foot was imprinted on the marble, and there it is to this very day. And the size, I mean the length, thereof is two and a half of our palms, or about half a Prague ell. And I was not the only one to measure it, for so did another pilgrim, a Saracen of Spain; for many go on pilgrimage to Adam. And the Angel put out Eve on another mountain, some four short days' journey distant. And as the histories of those nations relate (and indeed there is nothing in the relation that contradicts Holy Scripture), they abode apart from one another and mourning for forty days, after which the Angel brought Eve to Adam, who was waxing as it were desperate, and so comforted them both.[2]

[1] "*Nargillorum*," from Pers. *Nargil*.

[2] The usual Mussulman tradition runs, that on the violent expulsion of

NARRATIVE CONCERNING THE MOUNTAIN SEYLLAN.

Now, as our subject requires it, and as I deem it both pleasant and for some folks profitable, I propose to insert here an account of Seyllan, provided it please his Imperial Majesty; and if it please him not he has but to score it out.

First, then, it must be told how, and in what fashion I got there, and after that I will speak of what is to be found there.

First, then, when we got our dismissal from the Kaam that mighty Emperor, with splendid presents and allowances from him, and as we proposed to travel by India, because the other overland road was shut up by war and there was no possibility of getting a passage that way, it was the Kaam's order that we should proceed through Manzi, which was formerly known as *India Maxima*.

Now Manzi is a country which has countless cities and nations included in it, past all belief to one who has not seen them, besides great plenty of everything, including fruits quite unknown in our Latin countries. Indeed it has 30,000 great cities, besides towns and boroughs quite beyond count. And among the rest is that most famous city of CAMPSAY, the finest, the biggest, the richest, the most populous, and altogether the most marvellous city, the city of the greatest wealth and luxury, of the most splendid buildings (especially idol temples, in some of which there are 1000 and 2000 monks dwelling together) that exists now upon the face of the earth, or mayhap that ever did exist! When authors tell of its ten thousand noble bridges of stone, adorned with sculptures and statues of armed princes, it passes the belief

our parents and their tempter from Paradise, Adam fell on the Mountain of Serendib, Eve at Jidda near Mecca, Eblis near Basrah, and the Serpent at Ispahan. Adam after long solitude and penitence was led by Ḥabriel to Mecca and thence to the Mount ain of Arafat (*Recognition*), where he was reunited to Eve after a separation of two hundred years. (*D'Herbelot; Weil's Bib. Legends.*)

of one who has not been there, and yet peradventure these authors tell no lie.[1]

There is Zayton also, a wondrous fine seaport and a city of incredible size, where our Minor Friars have three very fine churches, passing rich and elegant; and they have a bath also and a *fondaco* which serves as a depôt for all the merchants.[2] They have also some fine bells of the best quality, two of which were made to my order, and set up with all due

[1] Probably a reference to the accounts of Kingssé or Hangcheu, by Polo and Odoric, see p. 113. But hear what Dobner has to say on Camsay: "In our time *Cambay*, the chief city of Guzerat, which on account of its size, wealth, and splendour, is often called the Indian Cairo. The river Indus flows through the kingdom, so that Marignolli was quite right in a previous passage when he referred the Columns of Alexander to those parts, in imitation of which he put up another himself in the same quarter"!! (p. 95.)

[2] The original (in Dobner) reads: "*habent tres ecclesias pulcherrimas optimas et ditissimas* balneum fundatum *omnium mercatorum depositorium.*" Meinert and Kunstmann translate "*ein gestiftetes Bad,*" but this seems somewhat unmeaning, and I have assumed that *fundatum* should read *Fundacum* (*t* for *c* again) in the sense of the Italian *Fondaco*. This was the word for a mercantile establishment and lodging house in a foreign country, nearly what we should call a factory, and we find it still applied at Venice to the old foreign factories, though the common Italian dictionaries ignore this meaning of the word. In Sicily the word still means *an inn*, especially one where the cattle and goods of traders are put up. It is borrowed from the Arabic *Fanduk*, "a public hostel for traders where they put up along with their wares," and that again comes from the Greek πανδοχεῖον.

Pagnini (*Della Decima*, etc., ii, 89) gives a Florentine correspondence about a treaty of commerce with the Sultan of Egypt in the year 1422, in which the chief items of privilege to be demanded for the Florence merchants are under the heads of *Fondaco, Church, Bath, Steelyard.* In the thirteenth century we find the King of Lesser Armenia granting the Venetians at Mamistra "a fondúk to deposit their merchandise and property in." (*Journ. Asiat.*, ser. v, tom. xviii, 353.) In a treaty between Abuabdallah Mahomed, King of Granada, and the Genoese, in 1278, it is provided that the latter shall have in all the king's cities *Fundiks* in which to conduct their business, and these shall be allowed to have *churches, baths, oven, and warehouses* (*Not. et Extraits*, xi, 28; see also *Amari Dipl. Arab.*, pp. xxx, 88, 101). And in a treaty between Michael Palæologus and the Genoese, it is specified that the latter shall have in certain ports and islands *logiam, palatium*, ecclesiam, balneum, *furnum et jardinum* (*Ducange, Hist. de Constantinople*, App., p. 6). These quotations

form in the very middle of the Saracen community.[1] One of these we ordered to be called Johannina, and the other Antonina.

We quitted Zayton on St. Stephen's day, and on the Wednesday of Holy Week we arrived at Columbum. Wishing then to visit the shrine of St. Thomas the Apostle, and to sail thence to the Holy Land,[2] we embarked on board certain junks, from Lower India[3] which is called Minubar.[4] We encountered so many storms, commencing from St. George's Eve, and were so dashed about by them, that sixty times and more we were all but swamped in the depths of the sea, and it was only by divine miracle that we escaped. And such wondrous things we beheld! The sea as if in flames, and fire-spitting dragons flying by,[5] and as they passed they slew persons on board the other junks, whilst ours remained un-

show that the *Ecclesia, Balneum, Fundacum,* and *Depositorium* ran naturally together. It was also the Mahomedan practice to attach a caravanserai (*i.e.* a *fondaco*) to convents of Kalandars or Darweshes (see *Erskine's Baber*, p. 215).

[1] He has evident glee in mentioning the setting up of the bells in the middle of the Mahomedan quarter of Zayton; the Mahomedans holding bells in abomination and not allowing them under their rule. Ibn Batuta's account of his terror and dismay, when he first heard bells jangling on all sides of him at Caffa, is amusing (ii, 357).

[2] Meinert suggests that *Terram Sanctam* here is a clerical error for *Terram Sabam*. This is probable, for the first is hardly intelligible.

[3] "*Ascendentes Junkos.*" This is perhaps the oldest item in the Franco-Indian vocabulary. It occurs also in Odoric (see *ante*, p. 73). The Catalan Map gives a drawing and description of these ships called *Inchi* (probably for *Iūchi*) with their bamboo sails. Quoth Dobner: "Vocem hanc in nullo glossariorum Medii Ævi reperio. Verosimillime navigia *e juncis texta* intelliguntur, quorum usum Indis esse plures affirmant," etc. (p. 96). It is more singular that the same mistake should have been made by Amerigo Vespucci in his curious letter to one of the Medici giving an account of the voyage of De Gama, whose party he had met at Cape Verde on their return from India. (See *Baldello Boni, Il Milione*, p. lviii.)

[4] This correct reading is from Venice MS., Dobner having *Nimbar*. See note on Minibar at p. 74.

[5] This is very like Fahian's account of a storm in the same sea, only the Chinese friar's is the more sober (*Fo-koue-ki*, ch. xl).

touched, by God's grace, and by virtue of the body of Christ which I carried with me, and through the merits of the glorious Virgin and St. Clare.[1] And having brought all the Christians to penitential mourning, even whilst the gale still blew we made sail, committing ourselves to the Divine guidance, and caring only for the safety of souls. Thus led by the Divine mercy, on the morrow of the Invention of the Holy Cross[2] we found ourselves brought safely into port in a harbour of Seyllan, called PERVILIS,[3] over against Paradise. Here a certain tyrant, by name Coya Jaan,[4] a eunuch, had the mastery in opposition to the lawful king. He was an accursed Saracen, who by means of his great treasures had gained possession of the greater part of the kingdom.

At first he put on a pretence of treating us honourably, but by and bye, in the politest manner and under the name of a loan, he took from us 60,000 marks, in gold, silver, silk, cloth of gold, precious stones, pearls, camphor, musk, myrrh, and aromatic spices, gifts from the Great Kaam and other princes to us, or presents sent from them to the Pope. And

[1] St. Clara was the townswoman, disciple, and feminine reflexion of St. Francis.

[2] 3rd May.

[3] Meinert and Kunstmann translate *Pervilis* as if it were a Latin adjective. But the name is perfectly Ceylonese in character; *e.g. Padaville* and *Periaville* are names found in Tennent's Map, though not in positions suited to this. From the expression "over against Paradise," and the after mention of Cotta, we may see that it was somewhere not far from Columbo. And a passage in Pridham enables me to identify the port as Barberyn, otherwise called BERUWALA, near Bentotte and the mouth of the Kaluganga. This is now a large fishing village, with a small bay having an anchorage for ships, and a considerable coasting trade. (*Historical*, etc., *View of Ceylon*, pp. 619-20.)

[4] *Coya* or *Coja Jaan* represents, I presume, *Khwája Jahán*. Now this was the title of the Wazir of Dehli; and Ibn Batuta, in reference to a time only a year or two before our author's arrival in Ceylon, mentions as an instance of the arrogance of Nasiruddin the new Sultan of Maabar, that he ordered *his* Wazir and admiral to take the same title of *Khwája Jahán*. Others may have followed the fashion, for it seems probable that our author's accursed Saracen was that "Wazir and Admiral Jálasti" whom Ibn Batuta found in power at Columbo. (*Ibn Batuta*, iv, 185; 204.)

so we were detained by this man, with all politeness as I said, for four months.

On that very high mountain [of which we have spoken], perhaps after Paradise the highest mountain on the face of the earth, some indeed think that Paradise itself exists. But this is a mistake, for the name shews the contrary. For it is called by the natives *Zindan Baba; baba* meaning 'father' (and *mama* 'mother') in every language in the world; whilst *Zindan* is the same as 'Hell', so that *Zindan Baba* is as much as to say 'the hell of our father', implying that our first father when placed there on his expulsion from Paradise was as it were in hell.[1]

That exceeding high mountain hath a pinnacle of surpassing height, which, on account of the clouds, can rarely be seen. But God, pitying our tears, lighted it up one morning just before the sun rose, so that we beheld it glowing with the brightest flame. In the way down from this same mountain there is a fine level spot, still at a great height, and there you find in order, first the mark of Adam's foot; secondly, a certain statue of a sitting figure with the left hand resting on the knee, and the right hand raised and extended towards the west; lastly, there is the house (of Adam) which he made with his own hands. It is of an oblong quadrangular shape like a sepulchre, with a door in the middle, and is formed of great tabular slabs of marble, not cemented, but merely laid one upon another.[2]

[1] I cannot find any trace of this name in the books about Ceylon. *Zindán* (Pers.) signifies "a dungeon," and seems often applied to buildings of mysterious antiquity. Thus a tower-like building of huge blocks of marble, which exists among those remains north of Persepolis which are supposed to mark the site of Pasargadæ, is called *Zindán-i-Suleiman*, "Solomon's Dungeon." And another relic, described by Sir H. Rawlinson in his paper on the Atropatenian Ecbatana, has the same name. It is very likely that the sepulchre-like building which Marignolli describes below, was called *Zindán-i-Baba* by the Persian visitors. Baba is correctly applied to Adam. Thus Ibn Batuta mentions that of the two roads to the Peak one was *Tarík Baba* (Adam's Road), and the other *Tarík Mama* (Eve's Road) (iv, p. 180).

[2] It is clear from all this that Marignolli never ascended the Peak.

It is said by the natives, especially by their monks who stay at the foot of the mountain, men of very holy life though without the faith,[1] that the deluge never mounted to that point, and thus the house has never been disturbed.[2] Herein

Indeed he does not seem to have dreamt of mounting that "*cacumen supereminens*" as he calls it, but thanks God for a glimpse of it merely. The footmark that he saw therefore was not *the* footmark which has been the object of pilgrimage or curiosity for so many ages. Indeed the length of half an ell which he ascribes to it (*ante*, p. 353) does not agree with that of the peak footstep. The length of the latter is given by Ibn Batuta at eleven spans, by Marshall at five feet six inches, by Tennent at about five feet; all in fair accordance. The "*planities altissima pulchra*" on which Marignolli places the footmark, and apparently also a lake (see *ante*, p. 353), seems to correspond with the "*pulcherrima quædam planities*" and lake of Odoric. I suspect that the place visited by both Franciscans was some Buddhist establishment at one of the stages between the coast and Adam's Peak, where there was a *model* of the sacred footstep, such as is common in Buddhist countries, and such as Tennent states to be shown at the Alu Wihara at Cotta, at Kornegalle, and elsewhere in Ceylon. It is true that there was a second "genuine" footstep shown in Fahian's time (end of fourth century), but this was "to the north of the royal city," apparently Anurajapura, and out of Marignolli's way, even if extant in his time. I see from Pridham and Tennent that there appears to be a model of the foot at Palabadulla, one of the resting places in ascending from Ratnapura, which would be the route likely to be followed by Marignolli, considering the position of the port where he landed. Probably the exact site of which our author speaks might still be identified by remains of the ancient building which he calls Adam's Dungeon. Knox also calls the footmark "about two foot long," so that perhaps he was misled in the same manner as Marignolli (p. 3).

For the history of the Peak see Sir J. E. Tennent's *Ceylon*. Perhaps he has not noticed that it is represented pictorially in Fra Mauro's Map, with the footstep at the top of it. It must also be added that Tennent quotes from the *Asiatic Journal*, that the first *Englishman* to ascend Adam's Peak was Lieut. Malcolm in 1827. If the date is right, the fact is wrong. For the late Dr. Henry Marshall and Mr. S. Sawers ascended together in 1819, and both published accounts of their ascent. To be sure they were both *Scotchmen!*

The *statua quædam sedens*, etc., is of course a Buddha.

[1] "*Qui stant ad pedes montis sine fide sanctissimæ vitæ.*" I am doubtful of the meaning.

[2] Tennent mentions that the Samaritan *version* of the Pentateuch, and also an Arabic Pentateuch in the Bodleian, make the Ark rest on the mountains of Serendib or Ceylon (i, 552). Ricold di Montecroce says that the Indians denied that Noah's flood had reached to them, but they lied, for he had noticed as a fact that all the rivers that descended from Ararat flowed towards the Indian Ocean. (*Peregrinat. Quatuor*, p. 122.)

they put their dreams in opposition to Holy Scripture and the traditions of the saints; but indeed they have some plausible arguments to urge on their side. For they say that they are not descended either from Cain or from Seth, but from other sons of Adam, who [as they allege] begot other sons and daughters. But as this is contrary to Holy Scripture I will say no more about it.

I must remark, however, that these monks never eat flesh, because Adam and his successors till the flood did not do so. They go naked from the loins upwards, and unquestionably they are very well conducted. They have houses of palm-leaves, which you can break through with your finger,[1] and these are scattered up and down in the woods, and full of property, and yet they live without the slightest fear of thieves, unless perchance there come vagabonds from foreign parts.

On the same mountain, in the direction of Paradise, is a great fountain,[2] the waters of which are clearly visible at a distance of good ten Italian miles. And though it breaks out there, they say that its water is derived from the Fountain of Paradise. And they allege this in proof: that there sometimes turn up from the bottom leaves of unknown species in great quantities, and also lign-aloes, and precious stones, such as the carbuncle and sapphire, and also certain fruits with healing virtues. They tell also that those gems are formed from Adam's tears, but this seems to be a mere figment.[3] Many other matters I think it best to pass over at present.

CONCERNING ADAM'S GARDEN AND THE FRUITS THEREOF.

The garden of Adam in Seyllan contains in the first place plantain trees which the natives call figs.[4] But the plantain

[1] "*Pansala*, 'a dwelling of leaves,' describes the house of a Buddhist priest to the present day." (*Hardy's Eastern Monachism*, p. 129.)

[2] A cascade, I suppose, perhaps the Seetlagunga torrent noticed below.

[3] See *Odoric*, p. 98. The Chinese also had this story (*Tennent*, ii, 610).

[4] See note at p. 352. We find from Pridham that "Adam's Garden"

has more the character of a garden plant than of a tree. It is indeed a tree in thickness, having a stem as thick as an oak, but so soft that a strong man can punch a hole in it with his finger, and from such a hole water will flow. The leaves of those plantain trees are most beautiful, immensely long and broad, and of a bright emerald green; in fact, they use them for tablecloths, but serving only for a single dinner. Also new-born children, after being washed and salted, are wrapt up with aloes and roses in these leaves, without any swathing, and so placed in the sand. The leaves are some ten ells in length, more or less, and I do not know to what to compare them (in form) unless it be to elecampane. The tree produces its fruit only from the crown; but on one stem it will bear a good three hundred. At first they are not good to eat, but after they have been kept a while in the house they ripen of themselves, and are then of an excellent odour, and still better taste; and they are about the length of the longest of one's fingers. And this is a thing that I have seen with mine own eyes, that slice it across where you will, you will find on both sides of the cut the figure of a man crucified, as if one had graven it with a needle point.[1] And

is the subject of a genuine legend still existing. At the torrent of Seetlagunga on the way to the Peak, he tells us: "From the circumstance that various fruits have been occasionally carried down the stream, both the Moormen and Singalese believe, the former that Adam, the latter that Buddha had a fruit garden here, which still teems with the most splendid productions of the East, but that it is now inaccessible, and that its explorer would never return." (*Hist., Polit. and Stat. Acct. of Ceylon*, p. 613.)

[1] Mandeville gives a like account of the cross in the plantain or "apple of Paradise" as he calls it, and so do Frescobaldi and Simon Sigoli in their narratives of their pilgrimage in 1384; who also like Marignolli compare the leaves to elecampane (*Firenze*, 1862, pp. 32, 160). The circumstance is also alluded to by Paludanus in the notes to *Linschoten's Voyages* (p. 101). Padre F. Vincenzo Maria says that the appearance was in India that of a cross merely, but in Phœnicia an express image of the crucifix, on which account the Christians of that country never cut the fruit but broke it (*Viaggio*, etc., p. 350). Old Gerarde observes on this subject: "The Crosse I might perceive, as the form of a Spred-Egle in the root of Ferne, but the Man I leave to be sought for by

it was of these leaves that Adam and Eve made themselves girdles to cover their nakedness.

There are also many other trees and wonderful fruits there which we never see in these parts, such as the *Nargil*. Now the Nargil is the Indian Nut. Its tree has a most delicate bark, and very handsome leaves like those of the date-palm. Of these they make baskets and corn measures; they use the wood for joists and rafters in roofing houses; of the husk or rind they make cordage; of the nutshell cups and goblets. They make also from the shell spoons which are antidotes to poison. Inside the shell there is a pulp of some two fingers thick, which is excellent eating, and tastes almost like almonds. It burns also, and both oil and sugar can be made from it. Inside of this there is a liquor which bubbles like new milk and turns to an excellent wine.[1]

They have also another tree called *Amburan*,[2] having a fruit of excellent fragrance and flavour, somewhat like a peach.

There is again another wonderful tree called *Chakebaruhe*,[3] as big as an oak. Its fruit is produced from the trunk and not from the branches, and is something marvellous to see,

those that have better eyes and better judgment than myself" (p. 1515). And Rheede: "Transversim secti in carne nota magis fusca seu rufa, velut signo crucis interstincti, ac punctulis hinc inde nigricantibus conspersi." (*Hortus Malabaricus*, i, 19.)

[1] He apparently confounds the coconut milk with the toddy, which is the sap of the tree drawn and fermented; a mistake which later travellers have made.

[2] The Mango (*Am* or *Amba*). I do not know how the word Amburanus which he uses is formed. There is a tree and fruit in Malabar with a considerable resemblance to the mango (perhaps a wild Mango) called *Ambalám* (*Rheede Hortus Malabar.*, i, 91).

[3] The Jack; a good account of it. *Ciake Baruhe* is the *Shaki Barki* of Ibn Batuta; concerning which see *Jordanus*, p. 13. P. Vincenzo Maria also calls the best kind of Jack *Giacha Barca* (*Viag.*, p. 355). *Baruhe* however comes nearer to *Waracha*, which Knox states to be one Singalese name of the Jack (Ed. 1691, p. 14). Sultan Baber compares the Jack-fruit to a *haggis*. "You would say," quoth he, "that the tree was hung all round with haggises!" (p. 325).

being as big as a great lamb, or a child of three years old. It has a hard rind like that of our pine-cones, so that you have to cut it open with an axe; inside it has a pulp of surpassing flavour, with the sweetness of honey and of the best Italian melon; and this also contains some five hundred chesnuts of like flavour, which are capital eating when roasted.

I do not remember to have seen any other fruit trees, such as pears, apples, or figs, or vines, unless it were some that bore leaves only and no grapes. There is an exception, however, at the fine church of St. Thomas the Apostle, at the place where he was Bishop. They have there a little vinery which I saw, and which supplies a small quantity of wine. It is related that when he first went thither he used to carry about with him a little wine for masses (as I did myself for the space of nearly two years); and when that was done he went to Paradise, into which he found his way by the help of Angels, and carried away with him some of the grapes, the stones of which he sowed. From these grew the vines which I saw at that place, and from them he made the wine of which he stood in need. Elsewhere there are vines indeed, but they bear no grapes, as I know by experience. The same is the case with melons and cucumbers, and indeed I saw no eatable potherbs there, unless it be an exception that I saw whole thickets of basil.

These then are the trees in Adam's garden. But of what tree was the fruit that he ate I cannot tell; yet might I guess it to be of the citron,[1] for it is written,

> *"Ipse lignum tunc notavit*
> *Dampna ligni ut solveret."*

[1] *"De cedro."* This word is ambiguous, but it is evidently the citron and not cedar, from what follows. The quotation is from the hymn PANGE LINGUA GLORIOSI, which is sung in the Roman Church at matins on Passion Sunday, thus:

> *"De parentis protoplasti*
> *Fraude factâ condolens,*
> *Quando pomi noxialis*
> *In necem morsu ruit,*

Now there were used, it must be observed, in making the cross, palm wood, olive wood, cypress wood, and citron wood, and the last is the only one of the four that can be alleged to bear a fruit which is good to eat and pleasant to the eyes. And these really appear to be the woods of the cross in that which belongs to our Lord the Emperor Charles; whatever people may say about the plantain tree (which is called also a fig tree) and its exhibiting the image of the crucifix; at the same time I don't mean to commit myself to any prejudgment of the matter. But as regards the fruit before mentioned, there is a certain Hebrew gloss on that proverb of Ezekiel's, "*Patres comederunt uvam acerbam et dentes filiorum obstupuerunt,*" which needs notice. Where our version has *Patres* the original Hebrew has *Adam*. Now this word is written sometimes one way and sometimes another. For *Adam* is written one way when it signifies *parents*, or *man and woman*, as in Genesis when 'tis said "*Vocavit nomen eorum* Adam" in the plural; and it is written with other letters when it signifies *a man* only. Just as we say on the one hand *hic et hæc homo*, and on the other hand *hic vir* (though I don't mean to say that we use diacritical marks and inherent vowels like the Hebrews). So also *Sem* is written sometimes with a *Zadè*, and sometimes with a *Samech*; and *Abram* sometimes with an *Aleph* and sometimes with a *He*, the signification varying accordingly. So then 'Adam *comederunt uvam acerbam*' [has been understood of our first father]. But this interpretation is not approved by our divines, for there was no *vinewood* in the cross. The same remark may be made regarding the fig tree for which

Ipse lignum tunc notavit
Damna ligni ut solveret.

Hoc opus nostræ salutis
Ordo depoposcerat
Multiformis proditoris
Ars ut artem pelleret,
Et medelam ferret inde
Hostis unde læserat."

the sons of Adam in Seyllan stand up, and also regarding the plantain (though it is highly probable that our parents made their aprons of its leaves, seeing that they be so big). As for the olive and the date, though they are 'good for food' nobody ever suggested *their* being the forbidden fruit. Yet there *was* palm wood in the cross, as is clearly seen in the reliques belonging to the Emperor; at least that is my opinion. Yet that can hardly be if the story be true that Godfrey of Viterbo tells in his Pantheon.[1] For he says that when Adam was waxing old and infirm, he sent his son Seth to Paradise to seek the promised oil of mercy. The angel warden of Paradise said: 'The time is not yet; but take thou these branches of olive, citron, and cypress, and plant them; and when oil shall be got from them thy father shall get up safe and sound.' So Seth returned, and found his father dead in Hebron. Wherefore he twisted together those three branches, and planted them above the body of Adam, and straightway they became one tree. And when that tree grew great it was transplanted, first to Mount Lebanon, and afterwards to Jerusalem. And at Jerusalem to this day exists a monastery of the Greeks on the spot where that tree was cut down. The hole whence it was cut is under the altar, and the monastery is called in Hebrew 'The Mother of the Cross' from this circumstance. The tree was made known to Solomon by means of the Queen of Saba, and he caused it to be buried under the deep foundations of a tower. But by the earthquake that took place on the birth of Christ, the foundations of the tower were rent, and the tree discovered. It was from it that the pool called *Probatica* acquired its virtues.

[1] The story here related of Seth is told in some of Godfrey's verses of a "younger son of Noah called Hiontius."

CONCERNING THE CLOTHING OF OUR FIRST PARENTS.

And the Lord made for Adam and his wife coats of skins or fur, and clothed them therewith. But if it be asked, whence the skins? the answer usually made is, either that they were expressly created (which savours not of wisdom!); or that an animal was slain for the purpose (and this is not satisfactory, seeing that 'tis believed the animals were at first created only in pairs, and there had been no time for the multiplication of the species). Now then I say, without however meaning to dogmatize, that for coats of *fur* we should read coats of *fibre*. For among the fronds of the Nargil, of which I have spoken above, there grows a sort of fibrous web forming an open network of coarse dry filaments. Now to this day among the people there and the Indians[1] it is customary to make of those fibres wet weather mantles for those rustics whom they call *camalls*,[2] whose business it is to carry burdens, and also to carry men and women on their shoulders in palankins, such as are mentioned in Canticles, '*Ferculum fecit sibi Salomon de lignis Libani*,' whereby is meant a portable litter, such as I used to be carried in at Zayton and in India. A garment such as I mean, of this *camall* cloth, (and not *camel* cloth) I wore till I got to Florence, and I left it in the sacristy of the Minor Friars there. No doubt the raiment of John Baptist was of this kind. For as regards *camel's hair* it is, next to silk, the softest stuff in the world, and never could have been meant. By the way (speaking of camels), I once found myself in company with an infinite multitude of camels and their foals in that immense desert by which you go down from Babylon of the Confusion towards Egypt by way of Damascus; and of Arabs also there was no end! Not that I mean to say there were any camels

[1] Dobner has *Judeos*, which I take to be an error for *Indos*.

[2] *Hhamál* (*Ar.*), a porter or bearer. The word is still commonly applied to palankin bearers in Western India.

in Seyllan; but there were innumerable elephants. And these though they be most ferocious monsters seldom hurt a foreigner. I even rode upon one once, that belonged to the Queen of Saba! That beast really did seem to have the use of reason—if it were not contrary to the Faith to think so.

CONCERNING THE FOOD OF OUR FIRST PARENTS.

Our first parents, then, lived in Seyllan upon the fruits I have mentioned, and for drink had the milk of animals. They used no meat till after the deluge, nor to this day do those men use it who call themselves the children of Adam. Adam, you know, was set down upon the mountain of Seyllan, and began there to build him a house with slabs of marble, etc., as has been already related. At that place dwell certain men under religious vows, and who are of surpassing cleanliness in their habits; yea of such cleanliness that none of them will abide in a house where anyone may have spit; and to spit themselves (though in good sooth they rarely do such a thing) they will retire a long way, as well as for other occasions.

They eat only once a day, and never oftener; they drink nothing but milk or water; they pray with great propriety of manner; they teach boys to form their letters, first by writing with the finger on sand, and afterwards with an iron style upon leaves of paper, or rather I should say upon leaves of a certain tree.

In their cloister they have certain trees that differ in foliage from all others. These are encircled with crowns of gold and jewels, and there are lights placed before them, and these trees they worship.[1] And they pretend to have received

[1] These were doubtless Peepul trees representing the celebrated tree of Buddh-Gaya, of which a shoot has been cherished at Anurajapura for twenty centuries (see *Tennent*, i, 343; ii, 614). Such trees are maintained in the courtyard of nearly every *wihara* or temple in Ceylon as objects of veneration (*Hardy's Eastern Monachism*, p. 212; *Knox*, p. 18). It is diffi-

this rite by tradition from Adam, saying that they adore those trees because Adam looked for future salvation to come from wood. And this agrees with that verse of David's, '*Dicite in gentibus quia Dominus regnabit in ligno,*' though for a true rendering it would be better to say *curabit a ligno.*[1]

These monks, moreover, never keep any food in their house till the morrow. They sleep on the bare ground; they walk barefoot, carrying a staff; and are contented with a frock like that of one of our Minor Friars (but without a hood), and with a mantle cast in folds over the shoulder *ad modum*

cult to account for the strange things that Marignolli puts into the mouths of the Buddhists. Probably he communicated with them through Mahomedans, who put things into their own shape. The Buddha's Foot of the Ceylonese monks was the Adam's Foot of the Mahomedans, hence by legitimate algebra Buddha=Adam, and Adam may be substituted for Buddha. The way in which Herodotus makes the Persians, or the Phenicians or Egyptians, give *their* versions of the stories of Io and Europa and other Greek legends, affords quite a parallel case, and probably originated in a like cause, viz., the perversions of *ciceroni*. We may be sure that the Persians knew no more of Io than the Singalese Sramanas did of Adam and Cain. (See *Herod.*, i, 1-5; ii, 54, 55, etc.).

[1] The quotation is from a celebrated reading of Psalm xcvi, 10 (in the Vulgate, xcv, 10), respecting which I have to thank my friend Dr. Kay, of Bishop's College, Calcutta, for the following note:

"The addition *a ligno* (which is not in the Vulgate, *i.e.* Jerome's "Gallican Psalter") is from the *old* Vulgate, which was made in Africa in the first or second century, and was used by Tertullian, St. Augustine, etc. It was no doubt through St. Augustine that the rendering was handed down to your friend Marignolli.

"Justin Martyr says (and it was not denied by Trypho) that ἀπὸ ξύλου occurred in the LXX. It is not known I believe in any MS. now existing; and the inference drawn is that Justin had been misled by certain copies in which some pious marginal annotation had been introduced by later copyists into the text." Dr. Kay adds the following quotation by Bellarmine from Fortunatus:

> "*Impleta sunt quæ cecinit*
> *David fideli carmine,*
> *Dicens,* De nationibus
> Regnavit a ligno Deus."

I may add since writing the above that copious remarks on this reading of the Psalm are to be found in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, viii, pp. 470, 516 *seq.*

Apostolorum.[1] They go about in procession every morning begging rice for their day's dinner. The princes and others go forth to meet them with the greatest reverence, and bestow rice upon them in measure proportioned to their numbers; and this they partake of steeped in water, with coco-nut milk and plantains.[2] These things I speak of as an eye-witness; and indeed they made me a *festa* as if I were one of their own order.[3]

There follow Chapters *concerning the Multiplication of the Human Race, The Offerings of Cain and Abel, etc., etc.*, to the end of the first section of his book, which he terms *Thearchos*. These chapters do not contain anything to our purpose except a few slight notices here and there, which I shall now extract. Thus of Cain he says:

If we suppose that he built his city after the murder of Abel there is nothing in this opposed to Scripture, unless so far that it seems to be implied that he never did settle down, but was always a vagabond and a fugitive. This city of his is thought to have been where now is that called KOTA in Seyllan,[4] a place where I have been. After he had begotten many sons there he fled towards Damascus, where he was shot by the arrow of Lamech his descendant in the seventh generation; and there, hard by Damascus, his sepulchre is shown to this day.[5]

[1] This use of the phrase satisfactorily illustrates the *alla apostolica* which Varthema so often uses. See Jones and Badger's *Varthema* (HAK. Soc.), pp. 78, 112, etc.

[2] "*Lixam in aqua comedunt cum lacte nargillorum et musis.*"

[3] A most accurate account of the Buddhist monks as they may be seen today in Burma, and I presume in Ceylon. What Marignolli saw he describes very correctly; his interpreters are, probably, therefore responsible for the stuff he says he heard.

[4] The author curiously overlooks *Gen.* iv, 17. Kotta, or (Buddhisto-classically) Jáyawardanapúra, near Columbo, is first mentioned as a royal residence about 1314, but it again became the capital of the island in 1410, and continued about a century and a half. It appears to be represented as such in the great Map of Fra Mauro, under the name of *Cotte Civitas*.

[5] This legend of Lamech shooting the aged Cain in a thicket, by mis-

In the next passage also he seems to be speaking of Hebron from personal knowledge:

And the story goes that Adam mourned the death of his son Abel for a hundred years, and desired not to beget any more sons, but dwelt in a certain cave apart from Eve, until by command of an angel he rejoined her, and begat Seth. Then he separated himself from the generation of evil doers, and directed his course towards Damascus, and at last he ended his days in EBRON, and there he was buried, some twenty miles from Jerusalem. And the city was called *Arba*, i.e. of the four, because there were buried there Adam the chief, then Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, in the double cave that is in Ebron. And there the Patriarchs and other holy Fathers were afterwards buried, and Joseph also when he was brought up out of Egypt.

To Seth, he says,

Succeeded his son Enoch, who began to call upon the name of the Lord. This is believed to mean that he first instituted the practice of addressing God in audible prayers, and that he founded a religious discipline and peculiar rule of life, such as is followed to this day (they say) by the Bragmans, and by the monks of Seyllan, though these have turned aside to idolatry and to the worship of a tree, as we have related. . . .

. . . . And the sons of Adam in Seyllan adduce many proofs that the flood reached not to them. And this is one of the chief, that in the eastern part of the country there are a number of roaming vagabond people whom I have seen myself, and who call themselves the sons of Cain. Their faces are huge, hideous, and frightful enough to terrify anybody. They never can stay more than two days in one place, and

take for an animal, and then killing the youth who had pointed out the game to him, seems to have been invented by the Hebrews as an explanation of the saying of Lamech in Genesis, iv, 23. It is the subject of a curious fresco in the Campo Santo at Pisa.

if they did they would stink so that nobody could endure them. They seldom show themselves, but yet they are given to trade. Their wives and children, as frightful goblins as themselves, they carry about upon donkeys.[1] Yet St. Augustine and the mass of theologians deem it absurd to suppose that any should have escaped the Deluge unless in the ark. . . .

. . . . And the ark grounded in the seventh month on a mountain of Armenia, which is near the Iron Gates in the Empire of Uzbek, and is called Ararat in the Lesser Armenia.

Next we come to the *Second Age*, and the beginning of the Second Book which is called *Monarchos*.

From the first chapter, which treats *Of the Distribution of the Earth among the Sons of Noah*, I extract some passages:

Noah therefore under the command of God delivered instructions to his sons about maintaining divine service in the worship of the One God by sacrifices, about the multiplication of offspring, and the division of the earth, that they might replenish it, and live in peace after his death. And he desiring a quiet life for his remaining days, reserved for himself the Isle of Cethym [Chittim] now called Cyprus.[2] Shem the firstborn, as king and priest after his father, obtained half of the world, i.e., all Asia the Great, extending from the White Sea beyond Hungary, where now are the Wallachians,[3]

[1] Here he speaks of the *Veddahs*, or Aborigines of Ceylon. Compare Tennent's description: "Miserable objects, active but timid, and athletic though deformed, with large heads and misshapen limbs. Their long black hair and beards fell down to the middle in uncombed lumps, they stood with their faces bent towards the ground, and their restless eyes twinkled upwards with an expression of uneasiness and apprehension.... The children were unsightly objects, entirely naked, with misshapen joints, huge heads and protuberant stomachs; the women, who were reluctant to appear, were the most repulsive specimens of humanity I have ever seen in any country" (ii, 450).

[2] Where, says Marignolli in another passage, "he planted a vineyard, which belongs at this day to the Archbishop of Nicosia. (*Dobner*, p. 109.)

[3] "*Olachi*." But what White Sea is meant, that lies beyond Hungary

in a straight line over all the empire of Uzbek, Katay, the Indies, and Ethiopia to the world's end.

The other half was divided between the other two brothers. Cham had Africa (including the Holy Land)[1] by Carthage and Tunis[2] to the world's end. Japhet the younger had Europe where we are now, that is to say, all on this side from Hungary, and all on this side from Rome,[3] including

where the Wallachians are? The Caspian, the Sea of Marmora, the Mediterranean, the Baltic, have all claims to the title of the White Sea, but none of these will do, and what *we* call the White Sea seems too remote from Hungary and Wallachia. There was indeed a Great Hungary, and a Great Wallachia recognized towards the Ural. (See *Roger Bacon's Opus Majus*, Venice, 1750, p. 173.) Fra Mauro has a *Mar Biancho* represented as a large lake in this quarter; whether it stands for Lake Ladoga, the White Sea, or the Baikal (as Zurla thinks), would be difficult to say, so compressed is his northern geography; but it is most likely that it means whatever Marignolli means by the same expression. Indeed a glance at Fra Mauro's Map makes Marignolli's division of the earth much more intelligible. The only modification required is that Marignolli conceives Ethiopia as running out eastward, to the south of the Indian Ocean, as remote Africa does in the geography of Edrisi and other Arab writers, as well as that of Ptolemy and the geographer of Ravenna. Make this modification and then you will see how one half of the hemisphere is divided into Europe and Africa, whilst the other is Asia, in which "a straight line" may be drawn from the White Sea, passing successively through the empire of Uzbek, Cathay, the Indies, Ethiopia, and the World's End!

[1] "*Africam ubi est Terra Sancta.*"

[2] *Turusium*, which I venture to correct to *Tunisium*.

[3] Dobner prints it "*scilicet ab* Ungaria, Cytra, *et* Roma," treating all three as proper names apparently. I suspect it should be "*scilicet ab Ungariâ citrà et* Romaniâ," meaning perhaps from *Hither Hungary*, viz., our modern Hungary as distinguished from the Great Hungary of note (3) *supra*.

Germany, France, Bohemia, Poland and England, and so to the world's end.

The next chapter is *concerning Worship after the Flood*, a large portion of which is worthy of translation:

Shem was anxious to maintain the worship of the true God, and his history we shall now follow. In the second year after the flood he begat Arfaxat, who in turn begat Elam, from whom the noble race of the Alans in the East is said to have sprung. They form at this day the greatest and noblest nation in the world, the fairest and bravest of men.[1] 'Tis by their aid that the Tartars have won the empire of the east, and without them they have never gained a single important victory. For Chinguis Caam, the first king of the Tartars, had seventy-two of their princes serving under him when he went forth under God's providence to scourge the world. . . . Arfaxat the son of Shem, at the age of thirty-five begat Sela or Sale, by whom India was peopled and divided into three kingdoms. The first of these is called MANZI, the greatest and noblest province in the world, having no paragon in beauty, pleasantness, and extent. In it is that noble city of CAMPSAY, besides ZAYTON, CYNKALAN, JANCI,[2] and many other cities. Manzi was formerly called CYN, and it has to this day the noble port and city called Cynkalan, i.e. "Great India" [Great China], for *kalan* signifies *great*. And in the Second India, which is called MYNIBAR there is CYNKALI, which signifieth "Little India" [Little China], for kali is *Little*.[3]

[1] "*Major et nobilior natio mundi et homines pulchriores et fortiores.*" Compare with the description by Ammianus Marcellinus of the Alans in his time: "Proceri autem Alani pœne sunt omnes et pulchri, crinibus mediocriter flavis, oculorum temperatâ torvitate terribile, et armorum levitate veloces" (xxxi, 2).

[2] Janci is doubtless Yangcheu, see note to *Odoric*, p. 123.

[3] On *Cynkalan* or Canton and *Cynkali* or Cranganore, see notes to *Odoric*, pp. 105 and 75. As regards Cranganore it may be added that it seems to have been one of the most ancient capitals of Malabar, and in some of the ancient copper deeds appears to be called Muyiri-Kodu,

The second kingdom of India is called Mynibar,[1] and 'tis of that country that St. Augustine speaketh in treating of the Canine Philosophers, who had this name of Canine because they used to teach people to do as dogs do, e.g. that a man should never be ashamed of anything that was natural to him.[2] They did not, however, succeed in persuading these people even that sons might without shame bathe before their fathers, or let their nakedness be seen by them.[3]

It is in this country that lies the city of Columbum, where the pepper grows, of which we have already spoken.

The third province of India is called Maabar, and the church of St. Thomas which he built with his own hands is there, besides another which he built by the agency of workmen. These he paid with certain very great stones which I have seen there, and with a log cut down on Adam's Mount in Seyllan, which he caused to be sawn up, and from its sawdust other trees were sown. Now that log, huge as it was, was cut down by two slaves of his and drawn to the sea side by the saint's own girdle. When the log reached the sea he said to it, 'Go now and tarry for us in the haven of the city of Mirapolis.'[4] It arrived there accordingly, whereupon

which a writer in the *Madras Journal* indicates as perhaps identifying it with the classical *Muziris*(?). It is now almost a deserted place, but the ancient line of its Rajas still exists (*Day*, p. 11). In connexion with Marignolli's interpretation of Cynkali it is somewhat curious that Abdurrazzak tells us the people of the neighbouring city of Calicut were known by the name of *Chini Bachagán*, "Sons of the Chinese" or "Chinese Young Ones." There is no Persian word *kali*, "little." The nearest explanation that I can find for Marignolli's etymology is the Arabic *kalíl*, "little, small, moderate" (*Richardson*).

[1] Here and where it occurs just before, Dobner has *Nymbar*, but the Venice MS. has correctly *Mynibar*. See note at p. 74.

[2] See Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, xiv, 20.

[3] Here the author refers to the remarkable decency of the Hindus in such matters, which may well rebuke some who call them "niggers." "Among the Lydians," says Herodotus, "and indeed among the barbarians generally, it is reckoned a deep disgrace, even to a man, to be seen naked" (i, 10).

[4] Mirapolis is a Grecized form of Mailapúr, Meliapur, or, as the Catalan

the king of that place with his whole army endeavoured to draw it ashore, but ten thousand men were not able to make it stir. Then St. Thomas the Apostle himself came on the ground, riding on an ass, wearing a shirt, a stole, and a mantle of peacock's feathers, and attended by those two slaves and by two great lions, just as he is painted, and called out 'Touch not the log, for it is mine!' 'How,' quoth the king, 'dost thou make it out to be thine?' So the Apostle loosing the cord wherewith he was girt, ordered his slaves to tie it to the log and draw it ashore. And this being accomplished with the greatest ease, the king was converted, and bestowed upon the saint as much land as he could ride round upon his ass. So during the day-time he used to go on building his churches in the city, but at night he retired to a distance of three Italian miles, where there were numberless peacocks[1]. . . . and thus being shot in the side with an arrow such as is called *friccia*,[2] (so that his wound was like that in the side of Christ into which he had thrust his hand), he lay there before his oratory from the hour of complines, continuing throughout the night to preach, whilst all his blessed blood was welling from his side; and in the morning he gave up his soul to God. The priests gathered up the earth with which his blood had mingled, and buried it with him. By means of this I experienced a distinct miracle twice over in my own person, which I shall relate elsewhere.[3]

Map has it, Mirapor, the place since called San Thomé, near the modern Madras. *Mailapúram* means or may mean *Peacock-Town*. A suburb still retains the name Mailapúr. It is near the shore, about three miles and a half south of Fort St. George, at the mouth of the Sydrapetta River.

[1] There is an evident hiatus here, though not indicated as such in the copies. Marignolli probably meant to relate, as Polo does (iii, 22), how the saint being engaged in prayer in the middle of the peafowl, a native aiming at one of them shot him.

[2] Meinert has here "*mit einem Pfeile, indisch* Friccia *genannt.*" But it is no *Indisch*, only the Italian *Freccia=Flèche*. I do not know why the word is introduced.

[3] He does not in this work.

Standing miracles are, however, to be seen there, in respect both of the opening of the sea, and of the peacocks.[1] Moreover whatever quantity of that earth be removed from the grave one day, just as much is replaced spontaneously against the next. And when this earth is taken in a potion it cures diseases, and in this manner open miracles are wrought both among Christians and among Tartars and Pagans.[2]

[1] "*Tam de apertione maris quam de pavonibus.*" There is nothing before about this opening of the sea, and the meaning is dark. John of Hese has a foolish story about St. Thomas's tomb being on an island in the sea, and that every year a path was laid dry for fifteen days for the pilgrims to pass through the sea. But Marignolli who had been at the place could not mean such stuff as this. Maffei however mentions that St. Thomas, in erecting a cross at Meliapor, which was then ten leagues from the sea (!), prophesied that when the sea should reach that vicinity white men should come from the world's end and restore the law which he had taught. Perhaps there is an allusion to such a tradition here. There is also a curious Tamul legend bearing upon this which is cited in Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné of Or. MSS.* (Madras, vol. iii, p. 372). Mailapur was anciently inhabited by Jainas. One had a dream that in a few days the town would be overwhelmed by the sea. Their holy image was removed further inland, and three days later the old town was swallowed up. The temples were then reestablished in a town called Mailamanagara, where exactly the same thing happened again. It is added that tradition runs in reference to the whole coast from San Thomé to the Seven Pagodas, that extensive ruins exist beneath the sea and are sometimes visible.

[2] The mention of Tartars here is curious, and probably indicates that the Chinese ships occasionally visited Mailapur. The Chinese are constantly regarded as Tartars at this time.

The Roman Catholic ecclesiastical travellers and hagiologists seem to have striven who should most expand the missionary travels of Thomas the Apostle. According to an abstract given by Padre Vincenzo his preaching began in Mesopotamia, extended through Bactria, etc., to China, "the States of the Great Mogul"(!) and Siam: he then revisited his first converts, and passed into Germany, and thence to Brazil, "as relates the P. Emanuel Nobriga," and from that to Ethiopia. After thus bringing light to Asia, Europe, America, and Africa, the indefatigable Apostle retook his way to India, converting Socotra by the way, and then preached in Malabar and on the Coromandel coast, where he died as here related.

It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance in relation to the alleged mission of Thomas to India, that whilst the Apocryphal Acts of the

That king also gave St. Thomas a perpetual grant of the public steelyard for pepper and all aromatic spices, and no

Apostles, ascribed to Abdias, Bishop of Babylonia, relate that before he visited that part of India where he was killed, he had in another region of India converted a king called Gundopharus, a king's name nearly identical with this (Gondophares), has in recent times become known from the Indo-Scythian coins discovered in N. W. India. The strange legend ran that this king Gundaphorus sent to the West a certain merchant named Abban to seek a skilled architect to build him a palace. Whereupon the Lord sold Thomas to him as a slave of His who was expert in such work. After leaving Gundopharus Thomas went to the country of a certain King Meodeus (*Mahadeva?*), where he was eventually put to death by lances. The story which Marignolli tells of the great log survived for many generations, and is related in much the same way by Maffei and by Linschoten towards the end of the sixteenth century, and again by the Carmelite Padre Vincenzo late in the seventeenth. It was supposed to be alluded to among other things in the mystic inscription which surrounded the miraculous cross on St. Thomas's Mount. And strange to say Gasparo Baldi relates something like a duplicate of the miracle which he declares he witnessed, and which occurred for the benefit of the Jesuits when in sore need of long beams for a new church at San Thomé.

The spot where Thomas is believed to have been slain is, according to Heber, at the "Little Mount," a small rocky knoll with a Roman Catholic church upon it (now "Church of the Resurrection"), and where a footmark of the Apostle in the rock is I believe still exhibited, close to Marmalong Bridge, on the Sydrapetta river, adjoining the suburb still called Mailapor. The "Great Mount" is an insulated hill of granite some two miles further up on the south side of the river, with an old church on its summit, built by the Portuguese in 1651, but now the property of the Catholic Armenians. I believe it is or was under the altar of a church on the latter site that the miraculous cross existed which was believed to have been cut in the rock by Thomas himself, and to exhibit various annual phenomena, sometimes sweating blood, which betokened grievous calamities. "These wonders began," says P. Vincenzo, with *sancta simplicitas*, "some years after the arrival of the Portuguese in India." Alexander Hamilton however says that tradition assigned the Great Mount as the scene of the martyrdom.

The Padre Vincenzo "would not wonder if that were true" which John, Patriarch of the Indies, was said to have declared to Pope Calixtus, viz., that St. Thomas every year appeared visibly and administered the sacrament to his Indian Christians. John of Hese has got a story of this kind too.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century Barbosa found the church of St. Thomas half in ruins and grown round with jungle. A Mahomedan fakir kept it and maintained a lamp, Yet in 1504, which is several

one dares take this privilege from the Christians but at the peril of death.[1] I spent four days there; there is an excellent pearl fishery at the place.

. . . . . .

Now to say something of the monstrous creatures which histories or romances have limned or lied about, and have represented to exist in India. Such be those that St. Augustine speaks of in the Sixteenth Book *De Civitate Dei*; as, for example, that there be some folks who have but one eye in the forehead; some who have their feet turned the wrong way; some alleged to partake of the nature of both sexes, and to have the right breast like a man's, the left breast

years earlier than Barbosa's voyage, the Syrian Bishop Jaballaha, who had been sent by the Patriarch to take charge of the Indian Christians, reported that the House of St. Thomas had begun to be inhabited by some Christians, who were engaged in restoring it.

The Portuguese have a curious history of the search for the bones of St. Thomas by a deputation sent by the Viceroy Duarte Menezes in 1522, under orders from King John III. The narrative states circumstantially that the Apostle's bones were found, besides those of the king whom he had converted, and an inscription commemorating the building of the church by St. Thomas, etc. The bones were eventually removed to Goa. Yet older tradition in the West asserted positively that Thomas was buried at Edessa.

There are numbers of poor native Christians at Madras now. Most of the men who man the *masúla* or surf-boats are such. Have they come down from St. Thomas's time, or who are they? Does anybody know? (See *P. Vincenso Maria, Viaggi*, pp. 132-136; *Assemanni*, pp. 32 and 450; *Linschoten*, p. 28; *Gasparo Balbi*, f. 86; *Kircher, China Illustrata*, p. 53; *Heber's Journal*; *Barbosa* in *Ramusio*, i, f. 315; *Hamilton's New Account of the E. Indies*, 1744, i, 359; *Fabricius*, Collection of Apocryphal books of New Testament (*proper title mislaid*), pp. 691, 699; *Reinaud* in *Mem. de l'Acad. des Insc.* (1849) xviii, p. 95; *Maffei, Historia Indica*, l. viii; *Faria y Sousa's Portuguese Asia*, pt. iii, c. 7.)

[1] One of the old copper grants, which are claimed by the Malabar Christians as the charters of their ancient privileges, contains a passage thus interpreted in the *Madras Journal* for 1844, p. 119: "We have given as eternal possession to Iravi Corttan, the lord of the town, the brokerage and due customs of all that may be measured by the *para*, weighed by the balance, stretched by the line, of all that may be counted or carried,... salt, sugar, musk, and lamp-oil, or whatever it be, namely within the river mouth of Codangulor" (Cranganore) etc.

like a woman's; others who have neither head nor mouth, but only a hole in the breast. Then there are some who are said to subsist only by the breath of their nostrils; others a cubit in height who war with cranes. Of some 'tis told that they live not beyond eight years, but conceive and bear five times. Some have no joints; others lie ever on their backs holding up the sole of the only foot they have to shade them; others again have dog's heads. And then poets have invented ypotamuses and plenty of other monsters.

Concerning all these St. Augustine concludeth either that they exist not at all, or if they do exist they have the use of reason, or are capable of it. All men come from Adam, and even if they be natural monstrosities still they are from Adam. Such monstrosities are indeed born among ourselves from time to time, and a few also in those regions; but then they amount to a good many if you take what are born from the whole family of man.[1] Such is the case (as he exemplifies the matter) with the different sorts of hunchbacks, with men who have six fingers, and many others of like character.[2] So the most noble Emperor Charles IV brought from Tuscany a girl whose face, as well as her whole body, was covered with hair, so that she looked like the daughter of a fox![3]

[1] St. Augustine's chapter is headed: "*An ex propagine Adam vel filiorum Noe quædam genera hominum monstrosa prodierint?*" After mentioning a number of the alleged monsters, such as are detailed here, and some of which he says were painted in mosaic in the *Maritima Platea* at Carthage, he comes to the conclusion cited by Marignolli. (*De Civitate Dei*, xvi, 8.)

[2] According to Ricci in Trigautius (*De Christiana Exped. apud Sinas*, 1617, p. 94) many in the southern provinces of China "had two nails upon the little toe of either foot, a thing noticed in all the people of Cochin-China, their neighbours, and perhaps an indication that they had all formerly six toes." These six-toed men occur also in India occasionally. I had a servant with this wealth of toes, and his name (Changa) was a sort of punning allusion to the peculiarity.

[3] This is mentioned by Matteo Villani, who says that when the emperor was at Pietra Santa, on his return from his coronation at Rome, there was presented to him a female child of seven, all woolly like a sheep, as if with a wool badly dyed of a red colour, and covered with this to the extremities of the lips and eyelids. The empress, marvelling at such a

Yet is there no such race of hairy folk in Tuscany: nor was her own mother even, nor her mother's other children so, but like the rest of us.[1] Such too was that monster whom we saw in Tuscany, in the district of Florence, in our own time, and which a pretty woman gave birth to. It had two heads perfectly formed, four arms, two busts, perfect as far as the navel, but there running into one. There was one imperfect leg sticking out of the side, and only two legs below, yet it was baptized as two persons. It survived for a week. I saw also at Bologna, when I was lecturing there, a ewe which bore a monstrous lamb of like character, with two heads and seven feet. Yet we do not suppose that such creatures exist as a species, but regard them as natural monstrosities. So doth God choose to show forth his power among men, that we may render thanks to Him that He hath not created us with such deformities, and that we may fear Him!

But I, who have travelled in all the regions of the Indians, and have always been most inquisitive, with a mind indeed too often addicted more to curious inquiries than to virtuous acquirements, (for I wanted if possible to know everything) —I have taken more pains, I conceive, than another who is generally read or at least well known,[2] in investigating the marvels of the world; I have travelled in all the chief countries of the earth, and in particular to places where merchants from all parts of the world do come together, such as the Island of Ormes, and yet I never could ascertain as a fact that such races of men really do exist, whilst the persons whom I met used to question me in turn where such were to be found. The truth is that no such people *do* exist

phenomenon, entrusted the child to her damsels and took her to Germany (*Chron.*, bk. v, ch. 53).

[1] See portrait of the "Hairy Woman" in the *Mission to Ava in* 1855. In that case the phenomenon had appeared in at least three generations.

[2] "*Qui plus dedi operam, ut puto, quam alius qui legatur vel sciatur.*" Does this point at Odoric?

as nations, though there may be an individual monster here and there. Nor is there any people at all such as has been invented, who have but one foot which they use to shade themselves withal. But as all the Indians commonly go naked, they are in the habit of carrying a thing like a little tent-roof on a cane handle, which they open out at will as a protection against sun or rain. This they call a *chatyr*;[1] I brought one to Florence with me. And this it is which the poets have converted into a foot.

ANECDOTE CONCERNING A CERTAIN INDIAN WHO WAS BAPTISED.

Here I must relate how when I was staying at Columbum with those Christian chiefs who are called *Modilial*,[2] and are the owners of the pepper, one morning there came to me in front of the church a man of majestic stature and snowy white beard, naked from the loins upwards with only a mantle thrown about him, and a knotted cord [crossing his shoulder] like the stole of a deacon. He prostrated himself in reverence at full length upon the sand, knocking his head three times against the ground. Then he raised himself, and seizing my naked feet wanted to kiss them; but when I forbade him he stood up. After a while he sat down on the ground and told us the whole story of his life through an interpreter. This interpreter [strange to say] was his own son, who having been taken by pirates and sold to a certain Genoese merchant, had been baptized, and as it so chanced was then with us, and recognized his father by what he related.

[1] *Chatr* (Pers.) an umbrella. It is strange that he should require to give so roundabout a description, for Ibn Batuta says that every body, gentle and simple, at Constantinople used parasols at this time. I observe that a gilt umbrella is a part of the insignia of high church dignitaries in Italy, as it is in Burma and other Buddhistic countries. When did this originate?

[2] *Mudiliar* (Tamul), a head man. The word is in abundant and technical use in Ceylon, and probably in the south of India also.

The old man had never eaten flesh, had never but once been in the way of begetting offspring, habitually fasted four months in the year, ate only a little rice boiled in water, with fruit and herbs, and that late in the evening, used to spend his nights in prayer, and before he entered his place of prayer washed his whole body, and put on a dress of spotless linen reserved for this only. He then would go in and worship the devil in his image, with the most single-minded devotion. He was the priest of the whole of his island, which was situated in the remotest region of the Indies.

Now God seeing his purity enlightened him first with wisdom from within; and afterwards the demon was constrained to address him through the idol's mouth, speaking thus: 'Thou art not in the path of salvation! God therefore enjoineth thee to proceed to Columbum, a distance of two years voyage by sea, and there shalt thou find the messenger of God who shall teach thee the way of salvation!' 'Now, therefore,' said he to me, 'here am I, come to thy feet and ready to obey thee in all things; and what is more, it was thy face that I saw in my dreams, as now I recognize.' Then having prayed with tears, and strengthened him in his intent, we assigned his baptized son as his teacher and interpreter. And after three months instruction I baptized him by the name of Michael, and blessed him, and sent him away, whilst he promised to preach to others the faith that he had acquired.[1]

This story serves te exemplify that God (as St. Peter said of Cornelius the centurion) is no respecter of persons, but whosoever keepeth the law that is written in the heart (For

[1] The old man was evidently a Brahman, accurately described, and it is almost too great a stretch of charity to suppose that he came truly in search of instruction. For certainly the interpreter at least was playing on Marignolli's simplicity and vanity with the stories of the two years voyage, of the miraculous admonition, etc., to make him think he was enacting Peter to this new Cornelius. In fact it looks as if the whole was got up as a trick, in the spirit of those which the Duke and Duchess played on Don Quixote.

the light of Thy countenance hath shone upon us, O Lord !) is accepted of Him, and is taught the way of salvation.

But I did not fail to inquire whether this man, who had for two years been sailing about the unexplored seas and islands of the Indies, had seen or even heard anything of those monsters of which we have been speaking; but he knew nothing whatever about them. Nor could I learn more when I was with the Queen of Saba; though there the sun rises just the opposite of here, and at noon the shadow of a man passes from left to right, instead of from right to left, as it does here.[1] The north pole there was six degrees below the horizon, and the south pole as much elevated above it, as has been pointed out to me by Master Lemon of Genoa, a very noble astronomer, besides many other wonderful things in regard to the stars.

Giants do exist, undoubtedly; and I have seen one so tall that my head did not reach above his girdle; he had a hideous and disgusting countenance. There are also wild men, naked and hairy, who have wives and children, but abide in the woods. They do not show themselves among men, and I was seldom able to catch sight of one; for they hide themselves in the forest when they perceive any one coming. Yet they do a great deal of work, sowing and reaping corn and other things; and when traders go to them, as I have myself witnessed, they put out what they have to sell in the middle of the path, and run and hide. Then the purchasers go forward and deposit the price, and take what has been set down.[2]

[1] "*Oritur sol modo opposito nobis, et in meridie transit umbra viri ad dextrum sicut hic ad sinistrum, et occultatur ibi Polus Arcticus nobis gradibus sex, et antarcticus totidem elevatur.*" I presume the man is supposed to be looking at his shadow with his back to the sun. The account is then intelligible.

[2] He may here refer either to the Veddahs of Ceylon (see *ante*, p. 371), or to the Poliars and like tribes of the continent, whom he may have seen during his long stay at Columbum, for both practise this dumb trade. Regarding the Veddahs, and the many authorities for their trading in this

It is a fact also that monstrous serpents exist [in the east], and very like that which our lord the Emperor Charles hath in his park at Prague. There are also certain animals with countenances almost like a man's; more particularly in the possession of the Queen of Saba, and in the cloister at Campsay in that most famous monastery where they keep so many monstrous animals, which they believe to be the souls of the departed.[1] [Not that they really are so] for I ascertained by irrefragable proof that they are irrational animals, except, of course, in so far as the devil may make use of them as he once did of the serpent's tongue. [Such delusions] those unbelievers may deserve to bring upon themselves because of their unbelief. But otherwise I must say that their rigid attention to prayer and fasting and other religious duties, if they but held the true faith, would far surpass any strictness and self-denial that we practise.[2] However [as I was going to say] those animals at Campsay usually come to be fed at a given signal, but I observed that they never would come when a cross was present, though as soon as it was removed they would come. Hence I conclude

fashion, from FaHian downwards, see *Tennent*, i, 592, etc; and regarding the Poliars, see *Markham's Travels in Peru and India*, p. 404. A like fashion of trade is ascribed by Pliny (probably through some mistake) to the Seres; by Ibn Batuta to the dwellers in the Dark Lands of the North (ii, 400, 401); and by Cosmas to the gold-sellers near the Sea of Zingium or Zanzibar (*Montfaucon*, ii, 139). See also *Cadamosto* in *Ramusio*, i, and *Herodotus*, iv, 196, with Rawlinson's note thereon.

[1] This is a very curious and unexceptionable corroboration of Odoric's quaint story of the convent garden at Kingssé (see p. 118).

[2] So Ricold of Montecroce, who frequented the Mahomedan monastic institutions to study their law with the view of refuting it (he afterwards published a translation of the Koran and an argument against it), expresses his astonishment at finding *in lege tantæ perfidiæ opera tantæ perfectionis*. Who would not be astonished, he goes on, "to see the zeal of the Saracens in study, their devoutness in prayer, their charity to the poor, their reverence for the name of God, for the prophets and the holy places, the gravity of their manners, their affability to foreigners, their loving and peaceable conduct towards each other?" (*Peregrin. Quatuor*, etc., p. 131.)

that these monsters are not men, although they may seem to have some of the properties of men, but are merely of the character of apes;[1] (indeed if we had never seen apes before we should be apt to look upon *them* as men!); unless forsooth they be monsters such as I have been speaking of before, which come of Adam's race indeed, but are exceptional and unusual births.

Nor can we conceive (and so says St. Augustine likewise), that there be any *antipodes*, i.e. men having the soles of their feet opposite to ours. Certainly not.[2] For the earth is founded upon the waters. And I have learned by sure experience that if you suppose the ocean divided by two lines forming a cross, two of the quadrants so formed are navigable, and the two others not navigable at all. For God willed not that men should be able to sail round the whole world.

I *have*, however, seen an hermaphrodite, but it was not able to propagate others like itself. Nor indeed does a mule propagate. Now let us go back to our subject.

The next chapter is one *Concerning the Multiplication of the Human Race, and the Division of the Earth, and the Tower of Babel.* I extract the following:

And they came to the plain of Senaar in the Greater Asia, near to the great River Euphrates. There indeed we find a vast level of seemingly boundless extent, in which, as I have seen, there is abundance of all kinds of fruits, and especially

[1] The argument of the cross would seem to cut the other way!

[2] See *De Civitate Dei*, xvi, 9. Cosmas also rejects the notion of Antipodes with great scorn. "Scripture says that God made of one (blood) all nations of men for to dwell on the *whole* face of the earth, and not upon EVERY face of the earth" (not ἐπὶ παντὶ προσώπῳ, but ἐπὶ παντὸς προσώπου). But his clinching argument is, "How could rain at the Antipodes be said to *fall*? Why it would *come up* instead of falling" (pp. 121, 157, 191 of *Montfaucon*). I remember hearing that the Astronomer Royal on finding fault with an engraver who had prepared the plates for a treatise of his wrongside upward, was met by the argument, "Why, sir, I thought there was no up or down in space!"

of dates, but also olives and vines in great plenty; so also of all field and garden produce, pumpkins, melons, and watermelons.

Then of Babel and Nimrod:

So he began and taught them to bake bricks to serve instead of stone, and, as there are many wells of bitumen there, they had bricks for stone, and bitumen for mortar. And this bitumen is a kind of pitch, very black and liquid, mixt with oil; and when it is used with bricks in building it solidifies and sets so hard that it is scarcely possible by any art to separate the joints, as I have myself seen and felt when I was on that Tower; and some of that hardened bitumen I carried away with me. The people of the country are continually demolishing the Tower, in order to get hold of the bricks. And the foundations of the city were laid upon the most extensive scale, so that every side of the square was, they say, eight Italian miles; and from what one sees this seems highly probable. They set the Tower at the extremity of the walls next the river, as if for a citadel, and as they built up the walls they filled the interior with earth, so that the whole was formed into a round and solid mass. In the morning when the sun is rising it casts an immensely long shadow across that wide plain.[1]

[1] The ruin here identified by Marignolli with the Tower of Babel appears to be that called by Rich *Mujelibé*, and by Layard *Babel*. It is about half a mile from the present channel of the river. Layard speaks of "a line of walls which, leaving the foot of Babel, stretch inland about two miles and a half from the present bed of the Euphrates." It is generally admitted however that these cannot be the real ramparts of old Babylon, though Rich thought they might be the interior enclosure of the palaces; whilst Rennell took them to be the walls of some more recent city. Layard mentions that the excavation of bricks from the remains is still a trade, and they are sold as far as Baghdad. A like trade has thriven for years at Agra in India, where bricks are never made, but *dug for*.

The excavations at the Mujelibé or Babel showed that the structure was much as Marignolli describes, viz. an exterior of burnt bricks laid in bitumen enclosing the unburnt bricks which form the interior mass. So Nebuchadnezzar himself says in the Birs Nimrud inscription as ren-

CONCERNING THE DIVISION OF TONGUES.

Having related that history, and how the greatest part of the Tower was destroyed by lightning, he goes on:

And they attempted, it seems, to build similar towers elsewhere, but were not able. Insomuch that even when a certain soldan erected a great building upon the foundation of such a tower, it was struck down by lightning, and on his several times renewing the attempt it was always struck down. So he took his departure into Egypt, and there built the city of Babylon, and is still called the Soldan of Babylon.[1]

dered by Oppert: "The earthquake and the thunder had dispersed its sun-dried clay; the bricks of the casing had been split, and the earth of the interior had been scattered in heaps... In a fortunate month, in an auspicious day, I undertook to build porticoes around the crude brick masses, and the casing of burnt bricks." (*English Cyclop.*, article *Babylon*; *Rich's Memoir on Bab. and Persepolis*, 1839; *Smith's Dict. of the Bible* quoted in *Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1864; *Rawlinson's Herodotus*, with a clear plan in vol. ii). It seems impossible, from his mention of the river and ramparts, etc., that Marignolli should here speak of the Birs Nimrud. (See also next note.) In later times Cæsar Federici, and again Tavernier, describe yet another ruin, that called *Akkerkuf* much nearer Baghdad, as the Tower of Babel.

[1] This quaint statement of the supposed reason for the removal of the Caliphate to Egypt refers perhaps to the Birs Nimrud. Its lightning-rent aspect has struck all who have seen it, and is referred to even in the inscription quoted in the preceding note.

Babylon of Egypt is close to Old Cairo, and is still known as *Babul*. The name comes down from classic times, being mentioned by several writers from Ctesias to Ptolemy, and Babylon of Egypt was the head-quarters of the Roman garrison in the time of Augustus. Cairo and Babylon existed together in the middle ages as two distinct cities; the merchants and artificers chiefly residing at Babylon; the Sultan, his amirs and men-at-arms in Cairo and the *Castrum*, which was, I suppose, the present citadel. But the city of the Egyptian Soldan is very commonly called in those days simply *Babylon*. Edrisi mentions that the city of Misr (which now means Cairo) was called in Greek *Bamblunah*. Pegolotti uses the term *Cairo di Bambillonia*. Mandeville, after carefully distinguishing between the two Babylons, puts the Furnace of the Three Children at the Egyptian Babylon; and yet he had served the Soldan in Egypt. (*Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*; *Marini Sanutii Torselli*,

. . . . . .

The second son of Nimrod was Belus, and had his residence in Babel after him. . . Now *Baybel*, as it is called in their language, is different from Babylon. For the latter means *confusion*, whilst *bag* with the letter *g* means a *garden* or *paradise*. [*Bagbel* therefore means the Garden] of Bel, and it is called also *Bagdag*.[1]

He then relates how Belus originated idolatry, and finishes with this singular passage:

The Jews however, the Tartars, and the Saracens, consider us to be the worst of idolaters, and this opinion is not confined to Pagans only, but is held also by some of the Christians. For although those Christians show devotion to pictures, they hold in abomination images, carved faces, and alarmingly life-like sculptures such as there are in our churches ;[2] as for example on the sepulchre of St. Adalbert at Prague.

Then follow chapters *Concerning Nynus*, and *Concerning the Wife of Nynus.*

Semiramis, the wife of Nynus, the glory of womankind, hearing that her husband was slain, and fearing to entrust the government to her son, who was yet a child, kept him closely concealed. Meanwhile she adopted a dress made after the Tartar fashion, with large folds in front to disguise her bust, long sleeves to hide her lady's hands, long skirts to cover her feet, breeches to maintain her disguise when she mounted on horseback, her head well covered up, and so

Lib. Secret. Fid., etc., i, c. 6; *Edrisi*, i, 302; *Pegolotti*, cap. xv; *Mandeville*, p. 144.)

[1] Marignolli gets into a muddle in trying to connect *Babel* and *Baghdad*, building on the Persian *Bágh*, a garden.

[2] "*Abhominantur larvas facies, et horrendas sculpturas sicut sunt in ecclesiis.*" Not only the Oriental Christians, but even Jewish Doctors, distinguished between paintings and figures in relief, considering the former to be lawful (*Ludolf., Comment.*, p. 372).

gave herself out for the son of Nynus, ruled in his name, and ordered that style of dress to be generally followed. She then ordered warlike armaments, and invaded India and conquered it... In India she clandestinely gave birth to a daughter, whom she made when grown up Queen of the finest island in the world, SABA[1] by name. In that island women always, or for the most part, have held the government in preference to men. And in the palace there I have seen historical pictures representing women seated on the throne, with men on bended knees adoring before them. And so also I saw that actually in that country the women sat in the chariots or on the elephant-chairs, whilst the men drove the oxen or the elephants.

The only points worth noticing in his next chapter *Concerning Abraham*, are his derivation, often repeated, of *Saracen* from *Sarah*; and the remark regarding the Dead Sea, that it can be seen from the dormitory of the Minor Friars on Mount Zion.

The following chapter headed *Concerning the Kingdom of the Argives*, ends with a discussion *whether tithes are obligatory on Christians*, and this leads to an anecdote:

As long as the Church and its ministers are provided for in some other way, it may be doubted whether the law of tithe should be imposed; as it certainly was not by the Apostles or by the Fathers for many a day after their time.

[1] Respecting Saba, see Introductory Notices. In this odd story of Semiramis and her daughter the Queen of Saba, we may perhaps trace the Arab traditions about the birth of Belkis (as they call her) Queen of Sheba or Saba in the time of Solomon. Her mother was said to be a daughter of the *jinns*, called *Umeira*, who falling in love with the Wazir of the tyrant King of Saba, *carried him to the island where she lived*, and married him. Within a year's time she bore him Belkis, with whom the Wazir eventually returned to Saba, and the tyrant father being slain for his misdeeds, Belkis became the wise and glorious Queen who visited Solomon (*Weil's Biblical Legends*, pp. 195-197). Is it accidental that this story of Marignolli's associates Semiramis with the Queen of Sheba, the *Belkis* of the Arabs, whilst from modern researches *Beltis* the chief female deity of the Assyrians, appearing sometimes as the *wife of Nin*, becomes identified with the ancient stories of Semiramis? (see *Rawlinson's Herodotus*, i, 484, 495, 513).

And a case occurred in my own experience at KAMUL,[1] when many Tartars and people of other nations, on their first conversion, refused to be baptized unless we would swear that after their baptism we should exact no temporalities from them; nay, on the contrary, that we should provide for their poor out of our own means. This we did, and a multitude of both sexes in that city did then most gladly receive baptism. 'Tis a doubtful question, but with submission to the Church's better judgment I would use no compulsion.

After sundry chapters about the *Foundation of Rome* and the like, we come at last to the *Prologue or Preface* (!) viz., to the actual Bohemian history. 'Tis a wonderful specimen of rigmarole, addressed to the emperor, in which the author shows the reluctance of a man entering a shower-bath in January to commit himself to the essential part of his task. The history affords none of the reminiscences which we seek for extract: a few notices of interest remain however to be gathered from his third book, which he calls *Ierarchicus*.

Thus, in speaking of circumcision, he says:

Talking on this matter with some of the more intelligent Jews who were friends of mine (at least as far as Jews can be friends with a Christian), they observed to me that the general law in question could never be fulfilled except with a very sharp razor, either of steel or of some nobler metal, such as bronze or gold. And they agreed with the dictum of Aristotle in his book of Problems, when he expressly asserts that cuts made with a knife of bronze or gold are healed more quickly than such as are made with a steel instrument. And this accords with the practice of the surgeons of Cathay, as I have seen.

[1] Kamul, Komul, or Kamil, the Hami of the Chinese, and the station at which the routes eastward from the north and the south sides of the Thian Shan converge, and from which travellers generally start to cross the desert before entering China (see *Polo*, ii, 36; and Benedict Goës, *infra*). The people of Kamil were all Buddhists in Marco Polo's time. In 1419 Shah Rukh's envoys found there the mosque and Buddhist temple side by side.

From the chapter *Concerning Jehoiada the Priest.*

At this time God pitying his people caused Elias to appear, who had been kept by God, it is not known where. That may be true which the Hebrews allege (as Jerome mentions in his comment on 1 Chronicles, xxi), viz., that he is the same as Phineas the son of Eleazar.[1] But it is asserted both by the Hebrews and the Sabæans, *i.e.*, the people of the kingdom of the Queen of Saba, that he had his place of abode in a very lofty mountain of that land which is called Mount Gybeit, meaning the Blessed Mountain. In this mountain also they say that the Magi were praying on the night of Christ's nativity when they saw the Star. It is in a manner inaccessible, for from the middle of the mountain upwards the air is said to be so thin and pure that none, or at least very few have been able to ascend it, and that only by keeping a sponge filled with water over the mouth. They say however that Elias by the will of God remained hidden there until the period in question.

The people of Saba say also that he still sometimes shows

[1] The Hebrew notions about the identity of Phineas and Elias have been adopted and expanded by the Mahomedans, who also identify in some way with them their mysterious prophet Khidhr. Hermitages or chapels dedicated to Khidhr and Elias appear to have been very numerous in Mussulman countries, especially on *hill-tops* (see *Ibn Batuta* passim). And the oriental christians and semi-christians also always associate Elias with mountain tops. There seems to be scarcely a prominent peak in the Greek Archipelago with which the name of Elias is not connected.

I do not know what *Gybeit* is, which he interprets as *Beatus*. *Kubeis* is the name of one of the holy mountains at Mecca of which wonderful things are related, but I find no meaning assigned to the name. There are many mountains in Java (if Java be the Saba of our author) which might in vast height and sublimity of aspect answer to the suggestions of Marignolli's description; none better perhaps than the Tjerimai, rising in isolated majesty to a height greater than Etna's, in the immediate vicinity of the coast, and close to Cheribon, the earliest seat of Mahomedanism in the island. Little less striking, and still more lofty, though not so isolated, is the Great S'lámat, a little further eastward, and by a singular coincidence its name (from the Arabic *Salámat*, Peace or Salvation) might fairly be translated *Mons Beatus*.

himself there. And there is a spring at the foot of that mountain where they say he used to drink, and I have drunk from that spring myself. But I was unable to ascend that Blessed Mountain, being weighed down with infirmities, the result of a very powerful poison that I had swallowed in Columbum, administered by those who wished to plunder my property. Although I was passing pieces of flesh from my intestines with a vast amount of blood, and suffered from an incurable dysentery of the third species for something like eleven months, a disease such as they say no one ever escaped from with life, yet God had compassion on me and spared me to relate what I had seen. For I did recover, by the aid of a certain female physician of that Queen's, who cured me simply by certain juices of herbs and an abstinent diet.

I frequently saw the Queen, and gave her my solemn benediction. I rode also upon her elephant, and was present at a magnificent banquet of hers. And whilst I was seated on a chair of state in presence of the whole city she honoured me with splendid presents. For she bestowed on me a golden girdle, such as she was accustomed to confer upon those who were created princes or chiefs. This was afterwards stolen from me by those brigands in Seyllan. She also bestowed raiment upon me, that is to say one hundred and fifty whole pieces[1] of very delicate and costly stuff. Of these I took nine for our lord the Pope, five for myself, gave three apiece to each of the chief among my companions, with two apiece to the subordinates, and all the rest I distributed in the Queen's own presence among her servants who stood around; that so they might perceive I was not greedy. And this thing was highly commended, and spoken of as very generous. I trust this little anecdote will not displease [His Majesty].

[1] "*Pecias integras.*"

This and the following chapters contain a few incidental allusions to his homeward journey through the Holy Land. Thus he speaks of the entire destruction of the Temple and of the existence of a Mosque of the Saracens upon its site; he gives a slight description of Bethlehem, with the Fountain of David, and the Cave of the Nativity, and alludes to having visited the Wilderness of the Temptation.

In one passage he quotes as the favourable testimony of an enemy, how

Machomet the accursed, in his Alcoran, in the third *Zora*, speaketh thus: O Mary, God hath purified thee and made thee holy above all women! etc.

The last extract that I shall make is from the same chapter.

Also all the philosophers and astrologers of Babylon and Egypt and Chaldea calculated that in the conjunction of Mercury with Saturn a girl should be born, who as a virgin, without knowledge of men, should bear a son in the land of Israel. And the image of this Virgin is kept in great state in a temple in Kampsay, and on the first appearance of the moon of the first month[1] (that is of February, which is the

[1] "*Prima lumina mensis primi*;" perhaps he means up to the full moon of the first month? The Chinese year commences from the new moon nearest to the middle point of Aquarius. The sun would enter Aquarius, according to the calendar in Marignolli's time, about the 28th of January, so that the Chinese first month would correspond in a partial way to February. The feast to which he alludes is the celebrated Feast of Lanterns, which is kept through the first fifteen days of the moon, but especially on the full moon. The image of which he speaks is doubtless that of the Buddhist personage whom the Chinese call *Kuanyin*, and to whom they give the name of "the Virgin" in conversing with Europeans, whilst conversely they apply the name of Kuanyin to the Romish images of the Virgin Mary (see *Dâvis's Chinese*, ii, 177). It does not appear however, that the Feast of Lanterns is connected with the worship of Kuanyin. Her birth is celebrated on the 19th day of the second moon, and another feast in her honour on the 16th day of the eleventh moon (*Chine Mod.*, ii, 649, 652).

first month among the Cathayers) that new year's feast is celebrated with great magnificence, and with illuminations kept up all the night.

VI.

IBN BATUTA'S TRAVELS IN BENGAL AND CHINA.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

ABU-ABDULLAH MAHOMED, called Ibn Batuta,[1] The Traveller (*par excellence*) of the Arab nation, as he was hailed by a saint of his religion whom he visited in India, was born at Tangier on the 24th February, 1304.

The duty of performing the Mecca pilgrimage must have developed the travelling propensity in many a Mahomedan, whilst in those days the power and extension of the vast freemasonry to which he belonged would give facilities in the indulgence of this propensity such as have never been known under other circumstances to any class of people.[2] Ibn Batuta himself tells us how in the heart of China he fell in with a certain Al Bushri,[3] a countryman of his own from Ceuta, who had risen to great wealth and prosperity in that far country, and how at a later date (when after a short visit to his native land the restless man had started to explore Central Africa), in passing through Segelmessa, on the border of the Sahra, he was the guest of the same Al Bushri's brother.[4] "What an enormous distance lay between

[1] During his travels in the East he bore the name of Shamsuddín (i, 8).

[2] Ricold Montecroce is greatly struck with the brotherly feeling among Mahomedans of his day, however strange to one another in blood: "Nam etiam loquendo ad invicem, maxime ad extraneos dicit unus alteri: 'O fili matris meæ!' Ipsi etiam nec occidunt se ad invicem nec expoliant, sed homo Sarracenus securissime transit inter quoscunque extraneos et barbaros Sarracenos" (*Pereg. Quatuor.*, p. 134).

[3] iv, 282. Similar references indicate the French edition and version by Defrémery and Sanguinetti, from which I have translated.

[4] iv, 377.

those two!" the traveller himself exclaims. On another occasion he mentions meeting at Brussa a certain Shaik Abdallah of Misr who bore the surname of *The Traveller*. This worthy had indeed made the tour of the world, as some would have it, but he had never been in China nor in the Island of Serendib, neither in Spain nor in Negroland. "I have beaten him," says Ibn Batuta, "for all these have I visited!"[1]

He entered on his wanderings at the age of twenty-one (14th June, 1325), and did not close them till he was hard on fifty-one (in January, 1355): his career thus coinciding in time pretty exactly with that of Sir John Mandeville (1322-1356), a traveller the compass of whose journeys would be deemed to equal or surpass the Moor's, if we could but believe them to be as genuine.

Ibn Batuta commenced his travels by traversing the whole longitude of Africa (finding time to marry twice upon the road) to Alexandria, the haven of which he extols as surpassing all that he saw in the course of his peregrinations, except those of Kaulam and Calicut in India, that held by the Christians at Sudák or Soldaia in the Crimea, and the great port of Zayton in China. After some stay at Cairo, which was then perhaps the greatest city in the world out of China,[2] he ascended the valley of the Nile to Syene, and passed the Desert to Aidhab on the Red Sea, with the view of crossing the latter to Mecca. But wars raging on that sea prevented this, so he retraced his steps and proceeded to visit Palestine and the rest of Syria, including Aleppo and Damascus. He then performed the pilgrimage to the holy cities of his religion,[3] and afterwards visited the shrine

[1] ii, 321.

[2] The traveller reports that the Plague or Black Death of 1348 carried off 24,000 souls in one day (!) in the united cities of Cairo and Misr or Fostat (i, 229); whilst in 1381 the pestilence was said to have carried off 30,000 a day. George Guccio, who heard this at Cairo in 1384, relates also of the visitation of 1348 that "according to what the then Soldan wrote to King Hugo of Cyprus, there were some days when more than 100,000 souls died in Cairo!" (*Viaggi in Terra Santa*, p. 291).

[3] Between Medina and Mecca he mentions an additional instance of the phenomenon spoken of at p. 156 *supra*. Near Bedr, he says, "in front of you is the Mount of the Drums, (*Jibal-ul-Thabúl*); it is like a huge sand-hill, and the natives assert that in that place every Thursday night they hear as it were the sound of drums" (i, 296).

of Ali at Meshed. From this he went to Basra, and then through Khuzistan and Luristan to Ispahan, thence to Shiraz and back to Kufa and Baghdad. After an excursion to Mosul and Diarbakr, he made the pilgrimage for a second time, and on this occasion continued to dwell at Mecca for three years. When that time had elapsed he made a voyage down the Red Sea to Yemen, through which he travelled to Aden, the singular position of which city he describes correctly, noticing its dependance for water-supply upon cisterns preserving the scanty rainfall.[1] Aden was then a place of great trade, and the residence of wealthy merchants; ships of large burden from Cambay, Tana, and all the ports of Malabar, were in its harbour.[2] From Aden, Ibn

[1] These cisterns, works of a colossal magnitude, had in the decay of Aden been buried in debris. During the last few years some of them have been cleared out and repaired, and they now form one of the most interesting sights of Aden.

[2] Aden, one of those places which nature has marked for perpetual revival, is mentioned, both by Marco Polo and by Marino Sanudo his contemporary, as the great entrepôt of that part of the Indian commerce which came westward by Egypt, but neither apparently had accurate acquaintance with the route. The former says that "Aden is the port to which the Indian ships bring all their merchandize. It is then placed on board other small vessels *which ascend a river about seven days*, at the end of which it is disembarked, laden on camels, and conveyed thirty days further. It then comes to the river of Alexandria, and is conveyed down to that city." Marino, after speaking of the route by the Persian Gulf, and the three ports of Hormuz, Kis, and Basra, goes on: "The fourth haven is called Ahaden, and stands on a certain little island, joining as it were to the main, in the land of the Saracens; the spices and other goods from India are landed there, loaded on camels, and so carried by a journey of nine days to a place on the river Nile called Chus, where they are put into boats and conveyed in fifteen days to Babylon (Cairo). But in the month of October and thereabouts the river rises to such an extent that the spices, etc., continue to descend the stream from Babylon, and enter a certain long canal, and so are conveyed over the two hundred miles between Babylon and Alexandria." (*Polo*, iii, c. 39; *Mar. San. Liber Fidelium Crucis*, pt. 1, c. 1.)

Here we see that Marco apparently took the Red Sea for a river, misled perhaps by the ambiguity of the Persian *Darya*. And Marino supposes, as his map also shows, Aden to be on the *west* side of the Red Sea, confounding it probably with *Sudkin*, which was also a port of embarcation for India *via* Egypt, as I gather from a MS. of the fourteenth century at Florence on the pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas. The *Chus* of

Batuta continued his voyage down the African coast, visiting Zaila, Makdashau (Magadoxo of the Portuguese), Mombasa, and Quiloa in nearly nine degrees of south latitude. From this he sailed to the coast of Oman, where, like Marco Polo, he remarks the surprising custom of feeding cattle of all sorts upon small fish. After visiting the chief cities of Oman he proceeded to Hormuz, or New Hormuz as he calls the city on the celebrated Island. The rock-salt found here, he observes, was used in forming ornamental vases and pedestals for lamps, but the most remarkable thing that he saw at Hormuz appears to have been a fish's head so large that men entered by one eye and went out by the other.[1]

After visiting Kais or Kishm he crossed the Gulf to Bahrain, Al-Kathif, and Hajr or Al-Hasa (or *Al-Ahsa*, v. *supra*, p. 216), where dates were so abundant that there was a proverb about carrying dates to Hajr, like ours of coals to Newcastle. Thence he crossed Central Arabia through what is now the Wahabi country, but without giving a single particular respecting it, and made the Mecca pilgrimage again. He then embarked at Jiddah, landed on the opposite coast, and made a journey of great hardship to Syene, whence he continued along the banks of the Nile to Cairo.

After this he revisited Syria, and made an extensive journey through the petty Turkish sultanates into which Asia Minor was then divided.[2] During this tour he tells us how he and his

Marino is *Kús*, the ancient *Cos* or *Apollinopolis Parva*, between Keneh and Luxor, described by Ibn Batuta (i, 106) as in his day a large and flourishing town, with fine bazaars, mosques, and colleges, the residence of the viceroys of the Thebaid. That traveller embarked at Kus to descend the Nile, after his first visit to Upper Egypt. It is nearly in the latitude of Kosseir. The *Carta Catalana* calls Kosseir *Chos*, and notes it as the place where the Indian spicery was landed.

[1] Whales (I believe of the Spermaceti genus) are still not uncommon in the Arabian Sea. Abu Zaid mentions that in his time about Siraf their vertebræ were used as chairs, and that houses were to be seen on the same coast, the rafters of which were formed of whale's ribs. (*Reinaud, Relations*, p. 146.) I remember when in parts of Scotland it was not unusual to see the gate-posts of a farm-yard formed of the same.

[2] There were at least eleven of these principalities in Asia Minor, after the fall of the kingdom of Iconium in the latter part of the thirteenth century (*Deguignes*, iii, pt. ii, p. 76).

comrade engaged a certain Hajji who could speak Arabic as servant and interpreter. They found that he cheated them frightfully, and one day, provoked beyond measure, they called out to him, "Come now, Hajji, how much hast thou stolen to day?" The Hajji simply replied, "So much," naming the amount of his plunder. "We could but laugh and rest content," says our traveller.

He then crossed the Black Sea to CAFFA, chiefly occupied, as he tells us, by the Genoese (*Janwiya*), and apparently the first Christian city in which he had found himself, for he was in great dismay at the bell-ringing. He went on by KRIM (or Solghat) and AZOV to MAJAR, a fine city on a great river (the Kuma), where he was greatly struck by the consideration with which women were treated by the Tartars; as if, in fact, creatures of a higher rank than men. From this he proceeded to the camp of Sultan Mahomed Uzbek, Khan of Kipchak, then pitched at BISHDAGH, a thermal spring, apparently at the foot of Caucasus.[1] He was well received by the Khan, and obtained from him a guide to conduct him to the city of BOLGHAR, which he was anxious to visit in order to witness with his own eyes the shortness of the northern summer night.[2] He was desirous also to go north from Bolghar to the *Land of Darkness*, of which he had heard still more wonderful things; but this he gave up on account of the many difficulties, and returned to the sultan's camp, which he then followed to HAJ-TARKHAN (Astracan).

One of the wives of Mahomed Uzbek was a Greek princess of Constantinople, whom the traveller calls the *Khátún* or Lady Beyálún (*Philumena?* or *Iolanthe?* At iii, 10, it is written

[1] This place, according to Defrémery (*Journ. As.*, July-Sept. 1850, p. 159), still exists as Besh Tau, and was visited by Klaproth.

[2] *Bolghar*, sometimes called Bolar, is in nearly the latitude of Carlisle. It stood near the left bank of the Atil or Wolga, about fifty miles above the modern Simbirsk and ninety miles south-west of Kasan. It was sometimes the residence of the khans of Kipchak. There was still a village called Bolgari on the site when Pallas wrote; and there are a considerable number of architectural remains. On these Hammer Purgstall refers to Schmidt's "*Architektonische Umrisse der Ruinen Bolgars*, 1832" (*Pallas*, Fr. Trans., year II, i, 217; *Gesch. der Gold. Horde*, p. 8; *Reinaud's Abulfeda*, ii, p. 81.)

Beilún), and she was now about to pay a visit to her own people.[1] Ibn Batuta was allowed to join the cortège. Their route seems to have been singularly devious, leading them by UKAK[2] ten days above Sarai, near the "Hills of the Russians," described as a fair-haired, blue-eyed, but ugly and crafty race of Christians, thence to the port of SOLDAIA (perhaps with the intention of going by sea) and then by land the whole way to Constantinople, where they were received in great state, the emperor (Andronicus the Younger) and empress coming out to meet their daughter, and the whole population crowding to see the show, while the bells rang till the heavens shook with the clangour. He tells us how, as he passed the city gate in the lady's train, he heard the guards muttering to one another *Sarakínú ! Sarakínú !* a name, says he, by which they called Mussulmans.

It is curious to find the name Istambul in use a century and more before the Turkish conquest.[3] Thus he tells us the part of

[1] These marriages appear to have been tolerably frequent as the Greek emperors went down in the world, though the one in question does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere. Thus Hulagu having demanded in marriage a daughter of Michael Palæologus, a natural daughter of the emperor, Mary by name, was sent in compliance with this demand: Hulagu was dead when she arrived in Persia, but she was married to his successor, Abaga Khan. The Mongols called her *Despina Khatun* (Δεσποῖνα). An illegitimate sister of the same emperor, called Euphrosyne, was bestowed on Nagaia Khan, founder of a small Tartar dynasty on the Greek frontier; and another daughter of the same name in 1265 on Tulabuka, who twenty years later became Khan of Kipchak. Andronicus the Elder is said to have given a young lady who passed for his natural daughter to Ghazan Khan of Persia, and a few years later his sister Mary to Ghazan's successor, Oljaïtu, as well as another natural daughter Mary to Tuktuka Khan of Kipchak. Also in the genealogy of the Comneni of Trebizond we find two daughters of the Emperor Basil married to Turkish or Tartar chiefs, and daughters of Alexis III, Alexis IV, and John IV making similar marriages. (*D'Ohsson*, iii, 417, and iv, 315, 318; *Deguignes*, i, 289; *Hammer, Gesch. der Ilchane*; Preface to *Ibn Batuta*, tom. ii, p. x; Art. *Comneni* in *Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog.*)

[2] Ukaka or Ukek and Majár have already been mentioned at p. 233, *supra*. The ruins of Majar exist and have been described by Klaproth (*Defrémery* in *J. As.*, 1850, p. 154).

[3] But even in the ninth century Masudi says that the Greeks never called their city Constantinia but *Bolin* (πόλιν=*Town* of the Londoner), and, when they wished to speak of it as the capital of the empire, *Stan-*

the city CONSTANTINIA, on the eastern side of the river (the Golden Horn), where the emperor and his courtiers reside, is called *Istambul*, whilst the other side is called Galatá, and is specially assigned to the dwellings of the Frank Christians, such as Genoese, Venetians (*Banádikah*), people of Rome (*Ahil-Rúmah*), and of France (*Ahil-Afránsah*).

After a short stay at the Greek city, during which he had an interview with the Emperor Andronicus the Elder, whom he calls King George (*Jirjís*), and after receiving a handsome present from the princess,[1] he went back to Uzbek at Sarai, and thence took his way across the desert to Khwarizm and Bokhara, whence he went to visit the Khan 'Alâuddín Tarmashírín of the Chagatai dynasty. His travels then extended through Khorasan and Kabul, including a passage of the Hindu Kush. This appears to have been by ANDERAB (which he calls *Andar*), and so by PANCHSHIR (see *supra*, p. 157) to PARWAN and Charekar (*Charkh*). It is remarkable that between Anderab and Parwan Ibn Batuta speaks of passing the Mountain of PASHAI, probably the Pascia of Marco Polo, which Pauthier seems thus justified in identifying with a part of the Kafir country of the Hindu Kush (*Livre de*

bolin (*εἰς τὴν πόλιν*); and he speaks of these as very old appellations. Indeed the name applied by the Chinese to the Roman Empire in the time of Heraclius (*Folin*) argues that the former term was then in familiar use. In the century following Ibn Batuta, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo says that the Greeks called their city, not Constantinople, but *Escomboli* (probably misread for *Estomboli*); and his contemporary Schiltberger tells us the Greeks called it *Istimboli*, but the Turks *Stambol*.

The Orientals found other etymologies for the name. Thus Sadik Isfahani declares that Istanbul signifies in the Turkish language, "You will find there what you will!" And after the capture of the city, some of the sultans tried to change the name to *Islámbul*.

There are several other names in modern use which have been formed in the same way; e.g. *Isnicmid* from *εἰς Νικομήδειαν*, *Setines* from *εἰς Ἀθήνας*. (*Jacquet* in *Jour. As.*, ix, 459, etc.; *Markham's Clavijo*, p. 47; *Schiltberger*, p. 136; *Geog. Works of Sadik Isfahani* by J. C., 1832, pp. 7, 8, and *note*.)

[1] Part of this consisted of three hundred pieces of gold called *Albarbarah* (Hyperperæ), the gold of which was bad, he observes. It was indeed very bad, for Pegolotti, if I understand him aright, says these "*perperi*" contained only 11 carats of gold to 6 of silver and 7 of copper (p. 23).

M. Pol, p. 123).[1] He then proceeded to Sind, reaching the Indus, probably somewhere below Larkhana, according to his own statement, on the 12th September, 1333. Here he terminates the First Part of his narrative.

Proceeding to SIWASTAN (Sehwan) he there met with a brother theologian, 'Alá-ul-Mulk, who had been appointed governor of the district at the mouth of the Indus, and after having travelled with him to LAHARI, a fine place on the shore of the ocean, he then turned northward to BAKAR, UJAH,[2] and MULTAN, where he found assembled a large party of foreigners all bent on seeking their fortunes in India, and waiting at the frontier city for invitations from the liberal sovereign of Hindustan.

This was Mahomet Tughlak, originally called Júna Khan, whose contradictory qualities are painted by Ibn Batuta quite in accordance with the account of Firishta. The latter describes him[3] as the most eloquent and accomplished prince of his time; gallant in the field and inured to war; admired for his compositions in prose and verse; well versed in history, logic, mathematics, medicine, and metaphysics; the founder of hospitals for the sick and of refuges for widows and orphans; profuse in his liberality, especially to men of learning. But with all this he was wholly devoid of mercy and of consideration for his people; the murderer of his father[4] and of his brother, he was as madly

[1] The name appears still more exactly in another passage of Marco Polo, where he describes the invasion of India by the Mongol prince whom he calls Nogodar. He "marched by Badascian (*Badakshan*) and through a province called PASCIAI, and another called Chesciemur (*Kashmír*), losing many of his people and beasts, because the roads were narrow and very bad" (i, c. 13). Remarks on the Passes of Hindu Kush will be found in the Introduction to Goës, *infra*.

[2] *Lahari* is still known as Lahori or "Larry Bunder," though it has disappeared from our recent maps. It stands on the western or Pitti branch of the Indus delta. *Bakár* is Bakkar, the fort in the Indus between Sakkar and Rori, where the Indus was bridged for Lord Keane's army by Major George Thomson in 1838. *Ujah* is Uchh on the Chenab, below Bhawalpur.

[3] *Briggs' Firishta*, i, 411-412; see also *Elphinstone*, ii, 60.

[4] As the story is told by Ibn Batuta after the relation of an eyewitness, Mahomed had prepared, for the reception of his father on his return from a campaign, a pavilion on the banks of a stream near Dehli. This pavilion was artfully constructed with the assistance of Ahmed son of Ayas

capricious, as cruel, bloodthirsty, and unjust as Nero or Caligula. Incensed at anonymous pasquinades against his oppressions, he on one occasion ordered the removal of the seat of government, and of all the inhabitants of Dehli, to Daulatabad in the Dekkan,[1] forty days' journey distant; and after the old city had been gradually reoccupied, and he had himself re-established his court there for some years, he repeated the same mad caprice a second time.[2] "So little did he hesitate to spill the blood of God's creatures, that when anything occurred which excited him to proceed to that horrid extremity, one might have supposed his object was to exterminate the species altogether. No single week passed without his having put to death one or more of the learned and holy men who surrounded him, or some of the secretaries who attended him." Or as Ibn Batuta pithily sums up a part of the contradictions of his character, there was no day that the gate of his palace failed to witness the elevation of some abject to affluence, the torture and murder of some living soul.[3] Mahomed

the Inspector of Buildings, so that when approached on a certain side by the weighty bodies of elephants the whole would fall. After the king had alighted and was resting in the pavilion with his favourite son Mahmud, Mahomed proposed that the whole of the elephants should pass in review before the building. When they came over the fatal spot the structure came down on the heads of Tughlak Shah and his young son. After intentional delay the ruins were removed, and the king's body was found bending over that of his boy as if to shield him. It was carried to Tuglakabad, and laid in the tomb which he had built for himself. This still stands, one of the simplest and grandest monuments of Mahomedan antiquity, rising from the middle of what is now a swamp, but was then a lake. It is said that the parricide Mahomed is also buried therein. This strange story of the murder of Tughlak Shah is said to have been re-enacted in our own day (1841 or 1842), when Nao Nihal Singh, the successor of Ranjít, was killed by the fall of a gateway as he entered Lahore.

Ahmed Bin Ayas, the engineer of the older murder, became the Wazir of Mahomed, under the titles of Malik-Záda and Khwája Jahán (*Ibn Bat.*, iii, 213-14).

[1] A description of the prodigious scale on which the new city, which was to be called the *Capital of Islam*, was projected and commenced, is given by an eyewitness in the *Masálak-al-Absár*, translated in *Not. et Extraits*, xiii, 172.

[2] *Briggs*, pp. 420-422; *Ibn. Bat.*, iii, 314. Elphinstone says the move was made three times (ii, 67). If so, I have overlooked it in Briggs.

[3] *Briggs*, 411, 12; *Ibn Bat.*, iii, 216.

formed great schemes of conquest, and carried out some of them. His mad projects for the invasion of Khorasan and of China came to nothing, or to miserable disaster, but within the bounds of India he was more successful, and had at one time subjected nearly the whole of the Peninsula. In the end, however, nearly all his conquests were wrested from him, either by the native king or by the revolt of his own servants. Respecting this king and the history of his reign, Ibn Batuta's narrative gives many curious and probably truthful details, such subjects being more congenial to his turn of mind than the correct observation of facts in geography or natural history, though even as regards the former his statements are sufficiently perplexed by his contempt for chronological arrangement.

After a detention of two months at Multan, Ibn Batuta was allowed to proceed, in company with the distinguished foreigners, for whom invitations to the court arrived. The route lay by ABOHAR in the desert, where the Indian, as distinguished from the Sindian provinces commenced, the castle of ABU BAKHR, AJUDAHAN, SARSATI, HANSI, MASUDABAD, and PALAM, to DEHLI.[1] The city, or group of cities, which then bore the latter name did not occupy the site of the modern capital built by Shah Jahán in the seventeenth century, but stood some ten miles further south, in a position of which the celebrated Kutb Minar may be taken as the chief surviving landmark.

[1] I cannot trace Abu Bakhr. *Ajudin* or *Pák Pattan* (The Pure or Holy Ferry) is a town on the right bank of the Sutlej valley, about half way between Bhawalpúr and Firuzpúr, the site of a very sacred Mahomedan shrine, for the sake of which Timur on his devastating march spared the few persons found in the town. *Abohar* is a town in the desert of Bhattiana, some sixty miles east of Ajudin. The narrative brings Ibn Batuta to Abohar *first*, and then to Abu Bakhr and Ajodin, and I have not ventured to change the order; but this seems to involve a direct retrogression. *Sarsati* is the town now called Sirsa on the verge of the Desert. *Hansi* retains its name as the chief town of an English Zillah. Sixty years ago it was the capital of that singular adventurer George Thomas, who raised himself from being a sailor before the mast to be the ruler of a small Indian principality. *Masudabad* I do not know; it must have been in the direction of the modern Bahádargarh. *Palam* still exists, a few miles west of the Dehli of those days, to one of the gates of which it gave its name.

The king was then absent at Kanauj, but on hearing of the arrival of Ibn Batuta with the rest, he ordered an assignment in his behalf of three villages, producing a total rent of 5,000 silver dinars, and on his return to the capital received the traveller kindly, and gave him a further present of 12,000 dinars, with the appointment of Kazi of Dehli, to which a salary of the same amount was attached.[1]

Ibn Batuta continued for about eight years in the service of Mahomed Shah, though it seems doubtful how far he was occupied in his judicial duties. Indeed, he describes Dehli, though one of the grandest cities in the Mahomedan world, as nearly deserted during his residence there. The traveller's good fortune seems only to have fostered his natural extravagance; for at an early period of his stay at the capital he had incurred debts to the amount of 55,000 dinars of silver, which, after long importunity, he got the Sultan to pay. Indeed, by his own account, he seems to have hung like a perfect horse-leech on the king's bounty.

When Mahomed Tughlak was about to proceed to Maabar to put down an insurrection,[2] Ibn Batuta expected to accompany him, and prepared an outfit for the march on his usual free scale of expenditure.[3] At the last moment, however, he was ordered,

[1] Respecting the value of these dinars, see Note A at the end of this Introduction. The three villages assigned to the traveller lay at sixteen koss from Dehli, he says, and were called *Badlí*, *Basahí*, and *Balarah*. They lay in the *Sadi* or Hundred of *Hindú-but* (or the Hindu Idol; so Defrémery reads it, but the original as he gives it seems rather to read *Hindabat*, and may represent *Indrapat*, the name of one of the old cities of Dehli still existing. Probably the villages could be identified on the Indian Atlas). Two were added later, *Jausah* and *Malikpúr*.

[2] This must have been on the occasion of the revolt of the Sharíf Jalaluddin Ahsan in Maabar. The French editors, in the careful chronological table of the events of Mahomed's reign which is embraced in their Preface to the third volume, place this expedition in 1341-42. The sultan fell ill at Warangol, and returned speedily to Daulatabad and Dehli.

[3] His account of the outfit required by a gentleman travelling in India shows how little such things have changed there in five hundred years, say from 1340 to 1840. (Now they are changing!) He mentions the set of tents and *saiwáns* (or canvas enclosure walls) to be purchased; men to carry the tents on their shoulders (this is never the practice now); the grass cutters to supply the horses and cattle with grass; the bearers (*kahárun*) to carry the kitchen utensils on their shoulders, and also to

nothing loth, to remain behind and take charge of the tomb of Sultan Kutbuddin, whose servant the Sultan had been, and for whose memory he professed the greatest veneration.[1] He renewed his personal extravagances, spending large sums which his friends had left in deposit with him, and reviling those who were mean enough to expect at least a portion to be repaid! One who scattered his own money and that of his friends so freely was not likely to be backward when his hand had found its way into the public purse. The account he gives of the establishment he provided for the tomb placed under his charge is characteristic of his magnificent ideas. "I established in connexion with it one hundred and fifty readers of the Koran, eighty students, and eight repeaters, a professor, eighty *sufis*, or monks, an imam, muezzins, reciters selected for their fine intonation, panegyrists, scribes to take note of those who were absent, and ushers. All these people are recognised in that country as *alarbáb*, or gentlemen. I also made arrangements for the subordinate class of attendants called *alháshiyah*, or menials,[2] such as footmen, cooks, runners, water-carriers, sherbet-men, betel-men, sword-bearers, javelin-men, umbrella-men, hand-washers, beadles, and officers. The whole

carry the traveller's palankin; the *faráshes* to pitch his tents and load his camels; the runners to carry torches before him in the dark. Moreover he tells us he had paid all these people nine months' wages beforehand, which shows that the "system of advances" was in still greater vigour than even now.

The French translators do not recognize the word *káharon*, putting "*gohars?*" as a parenthetic query. But it is still the ordinary name of the caste of people (*Kahárs*) who bear palankins or carry burdens on a yoke over one shoulder, and the name is one of the few real Indian words that Ibn Batuta shows any knowledge of. I think the only others are *tatú* for a pony; *Jauthri* (for *Chaodri*) "the Shaikh of the Hindus," as he explains it; *Sáha*, as the appellation of a certain class of merchants at Daulatabad, a name (*Sahá*) still borne extensively by a mercantile caste; *Katri* (*Kshatri*) as the name of a noble class of Hindus; *Jogi*; *morah*, a stool; *kishri* (for *kichari*, vulgo kedgeree, well known at Indian breakfasts); and some names of fruits and pulses (iii, 415, 427; 207; 388; iv, 49, 51; ii, 75; iii, 127-131).

[1] This was Kutb-uddín Mubarak Shah, son of 'Aláuddin, murdered by his minister Khosru in 1320.

[2] *Rabb*, Dominus, Possessor, pl. *arbáb*; *Hháshíyah*, ora vestis vel alius rei, *inde* domestici, asseclæ (*Freytag* in vv).

mber of people whom I appointed to these employments mounted to four hundred and sixty persons. The Sultan had rdered me to expend daily in food at the tomb twelve measures of meal and an equal weight of meat. That appeared to me too scanty an allowance; whilst, on the other hand, the total revenue in grain allowed by the king was considerable. So I expended daily thirty-five measures of meal, an equal weight of butcher-meat, and quantities in proportion of sugar, sugar-candy, butter, and pawn. In this way I used to feed not only the people of the establishment, but all comers. There was great famine at the time, and this distribution of food was a great alleviation of the sufferings of the people, so that the fame of it spread far and wide."

Towards the end of his residence in India he fell for a time into great disfavour, the cause of which he relates in this way:—

There was at Dehli a certain learned and pious shaikh called Shihab-uddin the son of Aljam the Khorasani, whom Sultan Mahomed was desirous of employing in his service, but who positively refused to enter it. On this the king ordered another doctor of theology, who was standing by, to pull out the shaikh's beard, and on his declining the office, the ruffian caused the beards of both to be plucked out! Shaikh Shihaabuddin retired from the city and established himself in a country place some miles from Dehli, where he amused himself by forming a large cave, which he fitted up with a bath, supplied by water from the Jumna, and with other conveniences. The Sultan several times sent to summon him, but he always refused to come, and at length said in plain words that he would never serve a tyrant. He was then arrested and brought before the tyrant himself, brutally maltreated, and finally put to death.

Ibn Batuta's curiosity had induced him to visit the shaikh in his cavern before this happened, and he thus incurred the displeasure and suspicion of the Sultan. Four slaves were ordered to keep him under constant surveillance, a step which was generally followed before long by the death of the suspected individual. Ibn Batuta, in his fear, betook himself to intense devotion and multiplied observances, among others to the repetition of a

certain verse of the Koran 33,000 times in the day! The surveillance being apparently relaxed, he withdrew altogether from the public eye, gave all that he possessed to darveshes and the poor (he says nothing about his creditors), and devoted himself to an ascetic life under the tutelage of a certain holy shaikh in the neighbourhood of Dehli, called Kamal-uddin Abdallah of the Cave, with whom he abode for five months. The king, who was then in Sind,[1] hearing of Ibn Batuta's reform, sent for him to camp. He appeared before the Lord of the World (as Mahomed was called) in his hermit's dress, and was well received. Nevertheless, he evidently did not yet consider his head at all safe, for he redoubled his ascetic observances. After forty days, however, the king summoned him again, and announced his intention of sending him on an embassy to China. According to Ibn Batuta's dates this appears to have been in the spring of 1342.

The object of the proposed embassy was to reciprocate one which had arrived at court from the Emperor of China. The envoys had been the bearers of a present to Sultan Mahomed, which consisted of 100 slaves of both sexes, 500 pieces of *cammucca*,[2] of which 100 were of the fabric of Zayton and 100 of that of Kingsse, five maunds of musk, five robes broidered with pearls, five quivers of cloth of gold, and five swords. And the professed object of the mission was to get leave to rebuild an idol temple (Buddhist, doubtless) on the borders of the mountain of KARACHIL, at a place called SAMHAL, whither the Chinese used to go on pilgrimage, and which had been destroyed by the Sultan's troops.[3] Mahomed's reply was that it was not admissible

[1] This must have been on the occasion of the revolt of Shahú the Afghan at Multan, who murdered the viceroy of the province and tried to set himself up as king. Though Defrémery's chronological table does not mention that Sultan Mahomed himself marched to the scene of action, and Ibn Batuta only says that "the Sultan made preparations for an expedition against him," as the revolt is placed in this very year 1342, it is probable that he had advanced towards Multan (iii, pp. xxi and 362), which according to the view of Ibn Batuta was a city of Sind.

[2] See note, p. 293, *supra*.

[3] It is interesting to find this indication that perhaps the pilgrimages of the Chinese Buddhists to the ancient Indian holy places were still kept up, but it may have been only the Tibetan subjects of the Great Khan

by the principles of his religion to grant such a demand, unless in favour of persons paying the poll-tax as subjects of his Government. If the Emperor would go through the form of paying this he would be allowed to rebuild the temple.[1]

The embassy, headed by Ibn Batuta, was to convey this reply, and a return present of much greater value than that received. This was composed of 100 high-bred horses caparisoned, 100 male slaves, 100 Hindu girls accomplished in song and dance, 100 pieces of the stuff called *bairami* (these were of cotton, but matchless in quality),[2] 100 pieces of silk stuff called *juz*, 100 pieces

who maintained the practice. In our own day I have seen such at Hardwár, who had crossed the Himalya, from *Mahachin* as they said, to visit the holy flame of Jawálamukhi in the Punjab. *Karachil* is doubtless a corruption of the Sanskrit *Kuverachal*, a name of Mount Kailás, where lies the city of Kuvera the Indian Plutus, and is here used for the Himalya. In another passage the author describes it as a range of vast mountains, three months' journey in extent, and distant ten days from Dehli, which was invaded by M. Tughlak's army in a most disastrous expedition (apparently the same which Firishta describes as a project for the invasion of China, though Ibn Batuta does not mention that object). He also speaks of it as the source of the river which flowed near Amroha (in the modern district of Moradabád, probably the Ramgunga; iii, 326; ii, 6; iii, 497). The same name is found in the form *Kalárchal*, applied to a part of the Himalya by Rashid, or rather perhaps by Al-Birúni, whom he appears to be copying. This author distinguishes it from *Harmakút* (*Hema-Kuta*, the Snow Peaks, one form of the name Himalya), in which the Ganges rises, and says that the eternal snows of Kalarchal are visible from *Táksa* (Taxila?) and Lahore (*Elliot's Mah. Historians*, p. 30). *Samhal* is probably *Sambhal*, an ancient Hindu city of Rohilkhand (perhaps the *Sapolus* of Ptolemy?), also in Zillah Moradabad. From other passages I gather that the *province* was called Sambhal at that time, and indeed so it was up to the time of Sultan Baber, when it formed the government of his son Humayun. I do not find that Sambhal itself has been recognized as the site of Buddhist remains, but very important remains of that character have been examined by M.-Gen. Cunningham, following the traces of Hwen Thsang, at various places immediately to the north of Sambhal, and one of these may have been the site of the temple in question.

[1] The *Jezia* or "poll-tax...was imposed, during the early conquests, on all infidels who submitted to the Mahomed rule, and was the test by which they were distinguish from those who remained in a state of hostility" (*Elphinstone*, ii, 457). Its abolition was one of the beneficent acts of Akbar, but Aurangzib imposed it again.

[2] Probably Dacca muslins. *Beirami* is a term for certain white Indian cloths which we find used by Varthema, Barbosa, and others, and in Milburn's *Oriental Commerce* we have the same article under the name

of stuff called *salatuyah*, 100 pieces of *shirinbaf*, 100 of *shanbaf*, 500 of woollen stuff (probably shawls), of which 100 were black, 100 white, 100 red, 100 green, 100 blue; 100 pieces of Greek linen, 100 cloth dresses, a great state tent and six pavilions, four golden candlesticks and six of silver, ornamented with blue enamel; six silver basins, ten dresses of honour in brocade,[1] ten caps, of which one was broidered with pearls; ten quivers of brocade, one with pearls; ten swords, one with a scabbard wrought in pearls; gloves broidered with pearls; and fifteen eunuchs.

His colleagues in this embassy were the Amir Zahiruddin the Zinjani, a man of eminent learning, and the Eunuch Kafur (Camphor) the Cup-bearer, who had charge of the presents. The Amir Mahomed of Herat was to escort them to the place of embarcation with 1,000 horse, and the Chinese ambassadors, fifteen in number, the chief of whom was called Tursi,[2] joined the party with about 100 servants.

The king had apparently returned to Dehli before the despatch of the party, for the latter set out from that city on the 22nd July, 1342. Their route lay at first down the Doab as far as Kanauj, but misfortunes began before they had got far beyond the evening shadow of the Kutb Minar. For whilst they were at KOL (Koel or Aligarh, eighty miles from Dehli), having complied with an invitation to take part in relieving the neighbouring town of JALALI from the attack of a body of Hindus,[3] they lost in the fight

Byrampaut (i, 268). The *Shanbaf* is no doubt the Sinabaffi of Varthema, but more I cannot say.

[1] Mahomed Tughlak maintained an enormous royal establishment (analogous to the Gobelins) of weavers in silk and gold brocade, to provide stuffs for his presents, and for the ladies of the palace (*Not. et Extraits*, xiii, 183).

[2] A statesman called *Turshi* was chief minister in China with great power, a few years after this, in 1347-48 (*De Mailla*, ix, 584). It is, however, perhaps not probable that this was the same person, as the Indo-Chinese nations do not usually employ statesmen of a high rank on foreign embassies.

[3] That work of this kind should be going on so near the capital shows perhaps that when Firishta says Mahomed's conquest of the distant provinces of Dwara-Samudra, Maabar, and Bengal, etc., had incorporated them with the empire "as completely as the villages in the vicinity of Dehli," this may not have amounted to very much after all (*Briggs*, i, 413).

twenty-five horsemen and fifty-five foot-men, including Kafur the Eunuch. During a halt which ensued, Ibn Batuta, separating from his companions, got taken prisoner, and though he escaped from the hands of his captors, did not get back to his friends for eight days, during which he went through some curious adventures. The party were so disheartened by these inauspicious beginnings that they wished to abandon the journey; but, in the meantime, the Sultan had despatched his Master of the Robes, the Eunuch Sanbul *(Spikenard)* to take the place of Kafur defunct, and with orders for them to proceed.

From KANAUJ they turned southwards to the fortress of GWALIOR, which Ibn Batuta had visited previously, and had then taken occasion to describe with fair accuracy. At PARWAN, a place which they passed through on leaving Gwalior, and which was much harassed by lions (probably tigers rather), the traveller heard that certain malignant Jogis were in the habit of assuming the form of those animals by night. This gives him an opportunity of speaking of others of the Jogi class who used to allow themselves to be buried for months, or even for a twelvemonth together, and afterwards revived. At Mangalore he afterwards made acquaintance with a Mussulman who had acquired this art from the Jogis.[1] The route continued through Bundelkhand and Malwa to the city of DAULATABAD, with its celebrated fortress of DWAIGIR (Deogiri), and thence down the Valley of the Tapti to KINBAIAT (Cambay).[2]

[1] This art, or the profession of it, is not yet extinct in India. A very curious account of one of its professors will be found in a "*Personal Narrative of a Tour through the States of Rajwara*" (Calcutta, 1837, pp. 41-44), by my lamented friend M.-General A. H. E. Boileau, and also in the *Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh*, by Captain Osborne, an officer on Lord Auckland's staff, to which I can only refer from memory.

[2] I will here give the places past through by Ibn Batuta on his route from Dehli to Cambay, with their identifications as far as practicable.

DEHLI.

Tilbat, 2½ parasangs from the city	This is perhaps *Tilputa*, a village in the Dadri Parganah, though this is some 17 miles from old Dehli.
Aú	Possibly *Aduh*, a Pargana town 8 miles west of Bulandshahr.
Hilú?	

From Cambay they went to KAWE, a place on a tidal gulf belonging to the Pagan Raja Jalansi, and thence to KANDAHAR, a

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Beiána, "a great place," with fine markets, and of which one of the chief officers of state had been lately governor.	I believe no such name is now traceable. Biana, west of Agra, was a very important city and fortress in the middle ages, but is quite out of place here.
KÓL, a fine city in a plain surrounded by mango orchards	*Koel*, commonly now known as Aligarh, from the great fort in the vicinity taken by Lord Lake. *Jalali* still exists, 10 m. E. of Koel.
(Jaláli, the town relieved)	
Burjbúrah . .	There is a village *Birjpár* N.E. of Mainpúri, on the line between Koel and Kanauj.
Ab-i-Siyah . .	A Persian rendering of the name of *Kali-Nadi* (Black River), which enters the Ganges near Kanauj. Sharifuddin gives the same name in a Turkish version, *Kara Su* (*H. de Timur Bec*, iii, 121).
KANAUJ . . .	Well known.
Hanaul, Wazirpúr .	Not traced. The last a very common name.
Bajálisah . . .	Must have been a place of some note as it gave a name to one of the gates of Dehli (iii, 149, and note, p. 461). I should suppose it must have been near the Jumna, *Etáwa* perhaps, or at *Bateswar* Ferry.
City of Maori, Marh .	If the last was Etawa, Maori may be *Umri* near Bhind.
Alápúr, ruled by an Abyssinian or Negro giant who could eat a whole sheep at once. A day's journey from this dwelt Katam the Pagan King of Jambil .	There is a place, *Jaurasa Alapur*, to the W.N.W. of Gwalior, where Sir Robert Napier gained a brilliant victory over the Gwalior insurgents in 1858, but it seems too much out of the line. The Pagan king is perhaps the Rajah of Dholpúr on the *Chambal*.
GALIÚR . . .	*Gwalior*.
Parwán, Amwari . .	The first may be *Panwári* in the Hamirpúr Zillah, which would be in the line taken, if the next identification be correct.
Kajarrá. Here there was a lake about a mile long surrounded by idol temples, and with buildings in the water occupied by long-haired Jogis .	Appears to be mentioned as *Kajráha* by Rashid, quoted by Elliot (p. 37), who identifies both names with *Kajrái*, on the banks of the Ken river in Bundelkhand, between Chattarpúr and Panna, which has ruins of great antiquity and interest. If so, the route followed must have been very devious, owing perhaps to the interposition of insurgent districts.

considerable city on another estuary, and belonging to the same prince, who professed loyalty to Dehli, and treated them hospitably. Here they took ship, three vessels being provided for them. After two days they stopped to water at the Isle of BAIRAM, four miles from the main. This island had been formerly peopled, but it remained abandoned by the natives since its capture by the Mahomedans, though one of the king's officers had made an attempt to re-settle it, putting in a small garrison and mounting mangonels for its defence. Next day they were at KUKAH, a great city with extensive bazars, anchoring four miles from the shore on account of the vast recession of the tide. This city belonged to another pagan king, Dunkul, not too loyal to the Sultan. Three days' sail from this brought the party abreast of the Island of SINDABUR, but they passed on and anchored under a smaller island near the mainland, in which there was a temple, a

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Chanderi, a great place with splendid bazars .	A well known ancient city and fortress on the borders of Bundelkhand and Malwa, captured by Sir Hugh Rose in 1858. According to the *Ayin Akbari* (quoted by Rennell) it contained 14,000 stone houses.
ZIHAR, the capital of Malwa. There were inscribed milestones all the way from Dehli to this.	*Dhár*, say the French Editor. But apparently the next station should have come first in that case.
UJJAIN . . . (Amjari, where he tells us (iii, 137) he witnessed a Suttee).	Well known ancient city, N.E. of Dhar. *Amjhera*, a few miles S.W. by W. of Dhar?
DAULATABAD . .	Retains its name. It appears in *Fra Mauro's* map as *Deuletabet*, and in the *C. Catalana* as *Diogil* (Deogiri).
Nadharbár. The people here and of the Daulatabad territory *Marhatahs* (iv, 48, 51).	*Naderbar* of Rennell, or *Nandarbár*, on the south bank of the Tapti.
Sághar, a great town on a considerable river.	*Saunghar* on the Tapti.
KINBAIAT, a very handsome city full of foreign merchants, on an estuary of the sea in which the tide rose and fell in a remarkable manner.	*Cambay*. We find the *t* expressed by several of the old authors, as by *Marino Sanudo* (*Cambeth*), by *Fra Mauro* (*Combait*); and much later the Jesuits of Akbar's time have *Cambaietta*.

grove, and a piece of water. Landing here, the traveller had a curious adventure with a Jogi, whom he found by the wall of the temple.[1] Next day they came to HUNAWAR (or Onore), a city governed by a Mahomedan prince with great power at sea; apparently a pirate, like his successors in later times, but an enlightened ruler, for Ibn Batuta found in his city twenty-three schools for boys and thirteen for girls, the latter a thing which he had seen nowhere else in his travels.[2]

After visiting several of the northern ports of Malabar, then very numerous and flourishing, they arrived at CALICUT, which the traveller describes as one of the finest ports in the world, frequented for trade by the people of China, the Archipelago, Ceylon, the Maldives, Yemen, and the Persian Gulf. Here they were honourably received by the king, who bore the title of *Samari* (the Zamorin of the Portuguese), and made their landing in great state. But all this was to be followed by speedy grief, as the traveller himself observes.

At Calicut they abode for three months, awaiting the season for the voyage to China, viz., the spring. All the communication with that country, according to Ibn Batuta (the fact itself is perhaps questionable) was conducted in Chinese vessels, of which there were three classes: the biggest called *Junk*, the middle-sized *Zao*, and the third *Kakam*.[3] The greater ships had from

[1] For the identification of the places from Cambay to Hunawar I must refer to Note B at the end of this Introduction. Assuming, as there argued, that Sindábúr was Goa, the small island was probably *Anchediva*, a favourite anchorage of the early Portuguese. "In the middle of it is a large lake of fresh water, but the island is deserted; it may be two miles from the mainland; it was in former times inhabited by the Gentoos, but the Moors of Mecca used to take this route to Calicut, and used to stop here to take in wood and water, and on that account it has ever since been deserted" (*Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral*, Lisbon, 1812, p. 118).

[2] He says the Sultan of Hunawar was subject to a Pagan monarch called *Hariab*, of whom he promises to speak again, but does not do so, unless, as is probable, he was the same as Bilal Deo (the Raja of Karnata), of whom he speaks at iv, p. 195.

[3] The French editors derive these three words from Chinese terms, said to be respectively, *Chuen*, *Sao* or *Seu*, and *Hoa-hang* (M. Pauthier corrects these two last to *Tsao* or *Chéu*, and *Hoa-chwán*, 'merchant-vessel,'

three to twelve sails, made of strips of bamboo woven like mats. Each of them had a crew of 1,000 men, viz., 600 sailors and 400 soldiers, and had three tenders attached, which were called respectively the *Half*, the *Third*, and the *Quarter*, names apparently indicating their proportionate size. The vessels for this trade were built nowhere except at ZAITUN and SINKALAN, the city also called SIN-UL-SIN,[1] and were all made with triple sides, fastened with enormous spikes, three cubits in length. Each ship had four decks, and numerous private and public cabins for the merchant passengers, with closets and all sorts of conveniences.[2] The sailors frequently had pot-herbs, ginger, &c., growing on board in wooden tubs. The commander of the ship was a very great personage,[3] and, when he landed, the soldiers belonging to his ship marched before him with sword and spear and martial music.

M. Polo, p. 656). I may venture at least to suggest a doubt of this derivation. *Junk* is certainly the Malay and Javanese *Jong* or *Ajong*, 'a great ship' (v. *Crawfurd's Malay Dict.* in *vocib.*); whilst *Zao* may just as probably be the *Dhao* or *Dao*, which is to this day the common term on all the shores of the Indian Ocean, I believe from Malabar westward, for the queer old-fashioned high-sterned craft of those coasts, the *Tava* of Athanasius Nikitin's voyage from Hormuz to Cambay. "*Dow*," says Burton, "is used on the Zanzibar coast for craft generally" (*J. R. G. S.*, xxix, 239.)

[1] We have already seen that *Sínkalán* is Canton (*supra*, pp. 105 and 268), and Ibn Batuta here also teaches us to identify it with the *Sínia-ul-Sín* of Edrisi, which that geographer describes as lying at one extremity of the Chinese empire, unequalled for its size, edifices and commerce, and crowded with merchants from all the parts of India towards China. It was the residence, he says, of a Chinese Prince of the Blood, who governed it as a vassal of the *Fagfur* (the *Facfur* of Polo, *i. e.*, the *Sung* Emperor of Southern China; see *Jaubert's Edrisi*, i, 193).

[2] This account of the great Junks may be compared with those given by M. Polo (iii, c. 1), and F. Jordanus (p. 54).

[3] Because Ibn Batuta says the skipper "was like a great *Amír*," Lassen assumes that he was an *Arab*. For this there seems no ground. Further on Ibn Batuta calls Kurtai the Viceroy of Kingszé, who is expressly said to be a Pagan, "a great Amir." All that he means to say of the captain might be most accurately expressed in the vulgar term "a very great swell."

Whilst referring to Lassen's remarks upon Ibn Batuta towards the end of the fourth volume of his Indian Antiquities, I am constrained to say that the carelessness exhibited in this part of that great work makes one stand aghast, coming from a man of such learning and reputation.

The oars or sweeps used on these great junks were more like masts than oars, and each was pulled by from ten to thirty men. They stood to their work in two ranks, facing each other, pulling by means of a strong cable fastened to the oar (which itself was, I suppose, too great for their grasp), and singing out to the stroke, *La, La! La, La!*

The only ports of Malabar frequented for trade by the China vessels were KAULAM, Calicut, and Hili;[1] but those which intended to pass the Monsoon in India, used to go into the harbour of

Such a statement needs support, and I refer for it to Note C at the end of this Introduction.

[1] Scarcely any change in India, since the days of our travellers, is more remarkable than the decay of the numerous ports, flourishing with foreign as well as domestic trade, which then lined the shores of the country; and the same remark applies in degree also to the other countries of Southern Asia, both eastward and westward of India. The commencement of this decay appears to date nearly from the arrival of the Portuguese, for at that time most of the ports were found still in an active and prosperous state. Somewhat similar circumstances have had course in our own country. The decay of the Cinque Ports can plead natural deterioration, but a more striking parallel occurs on the shores of the Firth of Forth, once lined with seaports which each sent out its little squadron of merchant-vessels, the property of local owners, to the Continental trade; ports which now, probably, can boast only a few fishing-boats, and "merchants" only in the French and old Scotch sense of the term.

The decay of the Malabar ports may have begun in forcible monopoly and in devastating wars, from which the country had previously long enjoyed a comparative exemption, but it has been kept up no doubt by that concentration of capital in the hands of large houses, which more and more characterizes modern commerce, and is in our days advancing with more rapid strides than ever, whilst this cause is being reinforced by that concentration of the streams of produce which is induced by the construction of Trunk Railways. Whatever be the causes, it seems to me impossible to read these old travellers without at least an impression that wealth, prosperity, and probably happiness, were then far more generally diffused on the shores of India than they are now. Is there any ground for hope that the present state of things may be one of transition, and that at a future day the *multiplication* of railways will diminish this intense concentration, and again sow the coasts of India with seats of healthy trade and prosperity? If so, it will not be done by railways of wide gauge and heavy cost like those now made in India.

In a note (D) at the end of this Introduction, I propose to append a review of the Ports of Malabar as they were known from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.

FANDARAINA for that purpose. Thirteen of these ships, of different sizes, were lying at Calicut when Ibn Batuta's party were there.

The Zamorin prepared accommodation on board one of the junks for the party from Dehli; but Ibn Batuta, having ladies with him, went to the agent for the vessel, a Mahomedan called Suleiman ul-Safadi-ul-Shámi, to obtain a private cabin for them, having, it would seem, in his usual happy-go-lucky way, deferred this to the last moment. The agent told him that the cabins were all taken up by the Chinese merchants, who had (apparently) "return tickets." There was one, indeed, belonging to his own son-in-law, which Ibn Batuta could have, but it was not fitted up; however if he took that now, probably he would be able to make some better arrangement on the voyage; (it would seem from this that shipping agency in those days was a good deal like what it sometimes is now). So one Thursday afternoon our traveller's baggage and slaves, male and female, were put on board, whilst he stayed ashore to attend the Friday service before embarking. His colleagues, with the presents for China, were already on board. But the next morning early, the Eunuch Hilal, Ibn Batuta's servant, came to complain that the cabin assigned to them was a wretched little hole, and would never do. Appeal was made to the captain, but he said it could not be helped; if, however, they liked to go in a *kakam* which was there, they might pick and choose. Our traveller consented, and had his goods and his women-kind transferred to the kakam before public prayer time. In the afternoon the sea rose (it always did in the afternoon, he observes), and it was impossible to embark. By this time the China ships were all gone except that with the presents, another junk which was going to stop over the monsoon at Fandaraina, and the kakam, on which all the Moor's property was embarked. When he got up on Saturday morning the junk with his colleagues, and the kakam, had weighed, and got outside the harbour. The junk bound for Fandaraina was wrecked inside. There was a young girl on board, much beloved by her master, a certain merchant. He offered ten pieces of gold to any one who would save her. One of the sailors from Hormuz

did save her, at the imminent risk of his life, and then refused the reward. "I did it for the love of God," said this good man. The junk with the presents also was wrecked on the reefs outside, and all on board perished. Many bodies were cast up by the waves; among others those of the Envoy Zahir-uddin, with the skull fractured, and of Malik Sunbul the eunuch, with a nail through his temples. Among the rest of the people who flocked to the shore to see what was going on, there came down the Zamorin himself, with nothing on but a scrap of a turban and a white cotton *dhoti*, attended by a boy with an umbrella. And, to crown all, when the kakam's people saw what had befallen their consort, they made all sail to seaward, carrying off with them our traveller's slaves, his girls and gear, and leaving him there on the beach of Calicut gazing after them, with nought remaining to him but his prayer-carpet, ten pieces of gold, and an emancipated slave, which last absconded forthwith!

He was told that the kakam *must* touch at Kaulam, so he determined to go thither. It was a ten days' journey, whether by land or water, so he set off by the lagoons with a Mussulman whom he had hired to attend on him, but who got continually drunk, and only added to the depression of the traveller's spirits. On the tenth day he reached Kaulam, the Columbum of our friars, which he describes as one of the finest cities of Malabar, with splendid bazaars, and wealthy merchants, there termed *Suli*,[1] some of whom were Mahomedans. There was also a Mahomedan Kazi and Shabandar (Master Attendant), &c. Kaulam was the first port at which the China ships touched on reaching India, and most of the Chinese merchants frequented it. The king was an Infidel, called *Tirawari*,[2] a man of awful justice, of which a

[1] *Chulia* is a name applied to the Mahomedans in Malabar. The origin of it seems to be unknown to Wilson (*Glossary*, in v.). The name is also applied to a particular class of the "Moors" or Mahomedans in Ceylon (*J. R. A. S.*, iii, 338). It seems probable that this was the word intended by the author.

[2] This title *Tirawari* may perhaps be *Tirubadi*, which Fra Paolino mentions among the sounding titles assumed by the princes of Malabar "which were often mistaken for the proper names of families or individuals." He translates it *sua Maestà*, but literally it is probably *Tiru* (Tamul) "Holy," and *Pati* (Sansc.) "Lord." (See *V. alle Indie Orientali*, Roma, 1796, p. 103.)

startling instance is cited by Ibn Batuta. One day when the king was riding with his son-in-law, the latter picked up a mango, which had fallen over a garden wall. The king's eye was upon him; he was immediately ordered to be ripped open and divided asunder, the parts being exposed on each side of the way, and a half of the fatal mango beside each!

The unfortunate ambassador could hear nothing of his kakam, but he fell in with the Chinese envoys who had been wrecked in another junk. They were refitted by their countrymen at Kaulam, and got off to China, where Ibn Batuta afterwards encountered them.

He had sore misgivings about returning to tell his tale at Dehli, feeling strong suspicion that Sultan Mahomed would be only too glad to have such a crow to pluck with him. So he decided on going to his friend the Sultan Jamal-uddin at Hunáwar, and to stop with him till he could hear some news of the missing Kakam. The prince received him, but evidently with no hearty welcome. For the traveller tells us that he had no servant allowed him, and spent nearly all his time in the mosque —always a sign that things were going badly with Ibn Batuta— where he read the whole Koran through daily, and by and bye twice a day. So he passed his time for three months.

The King of Hunáwur was projecting an expedition against the Island of Sindábúr. Ibn Batuta thought of joining it, and on taking the *Sortes Koranicæ* he turned up xxii, 41, "Surely God will succour those who succour Him;" which so pleased the king that he determined to accompany the expedition also. Some three months after the capture of Sindabur the restless man started again on his travels, going down the coast to Calicut. Here he fell in with two of his missing slaves, who told him that his favourite girl was dead; that the King of Java (probably Sumatra) had appropriated the other women, and that the rest of the party were dispersed, some in Java, some in China, some in Bengal. So there was an end of the Kakam.

He went back to Hunawur and Sindabur, where the Mussulman forces were speedily beleaguered by the Hindu prince whom they had expelled. Things beginning to look bad, Ibn Batuta,

after some two months' stay, made his escape and got back to Calicut. Here he took it into his head to visit the DHIBAT-UL-MAHAL or Maldive Islands, of which he had heard wonderful stories.

One of the marvels of these islands was that they were under a female sovereign,[1] Kadija, daughter of the late Sultan Jalál-uddin Omar, who had been set up as queen on the deposition of her brother for misconduct. Her husband, the preacher Jamal-uddin, actually governed, but all orders were issued in the name of the princess, and she was prayed for by name in the Friday Service.

Ibn Batuta was welcomed to the islands, and was appointed Kazi, marrying the daughter of one of the Wazirs and three wives besides. The lax devotion of the people and the primitive costume of the women affected his pious heart; he tried hard but in vain to reform the latter, and to introduce the system that he had witnessed at Urghanj, of driving folk to mosque on Friday with the constable's staff.

Before long he was deep in discontent quarrels and intrigues, and in August 1344 he left the Maldives for Ceylon.

As he approached the island he speaks of seeing the Mountain of Serendib (compare Marignolli's *Mons Seyllani*) rising high in air "like a column of smoke." He landed at Batthálah (PATLAM), where he found a Pagan chief reigning, a piratical potentate called Airi Shakarwati, who treated him civilly and facilitated his making the journey to Adam's Peak, whilst his skipper obligingly promised to wait for him.[2]

[1] As to the occasional prevalence of female rule in the Maldive Islands see introduction to Marignolli, p. 322.

[2] *Arya Chakravarti* is found in Ceylonese history as the name of a great warrior who commanded an army sent by Kulasaikera, who is called King of the Pandyans or people of the Madura country, which invaded Ceylon in 1314. The same name re-appears as if belonging to the same individual in or about 1371, when he is stated to have erected forts at Colombo, Negombo and Chilaw, and after reducing the northern division of Ceylon, to have fixed the seat of government at Jaffnapatam. It is probable of course that these were two different persons, and indeed one authority speaks of the first Arya as being captured and put to death in the reign of Prakrama Bahu III (1314-1319). The second must have

In his journey he passes MANAR MANDALI,[1] and the port of SALAWAT,[2] and then crosses extensive plains abounding in elephants. These however did no harm to pilgrims and foreigners,[3] owing to the benignant influence exercised over them by the Shaikh Abu Abdallah, who first opened the road to the Holy Footmark. He then reached KUNAKAR[4] as he calls it, the residence of the lawful King of Ceylon, who was entitled Kunár, and possessed a white elephant. Close to this city was the pool called the Pool of Precious Stones, out of which some of the most valuable gems were extracted. His description of the ascent to the summit is vivid and minute, and probably most of the sites which he speaks of could be identified by the aid of those who act as guides to Mahomedan pilgrims, if such there still be. He descends on the opposite side (towards Ratnapura), and proceeds to visit DINWAR, a large place on the sea, inhabited by merchants (Devi-neuera or Dondera), where a vast idol temple then existed, GALLE (which he calls *Káli*), and COLUMBO (*Kalanbu*), so returning by the coast to Patlam. Columbo is

commenced his career long before the date in the Ceylonese annals, as Ibn Batuta shows him established with royal authority at Patlam in 1344 (*Turnour's Epitome of the History of Ceylon*, Cotta Ch. M. Press, 1836, p. 47; *Pridham*, pp. 77-78; *Upham's Rajavali*, 264-269). Tennent supposes the Pandyan invaders to have come from Jaffnapatam, where they were already established, and not from the continent. Indeed we see from Ibn Batuta that the original Pandyan territory was now in Musulman hands.

[1] *Minneri Mandel* of Tennent's Map, on the coast immediately abreast of Patlam.

[2] *Chilaw* of our maps.

[3] See Odoric, p. 100.

[4] Sir J. Emerson Tennent considers this to be *Gampola*, called classically *Ganga-sri-pura*, the name which he supposes to be aimed at in Ibn Batuta's *Kunakár*. With all respect for such an authority I think that it more probably represents *Kurunaigalla* or Kornegalle, which was the capital of the lawful sovereigns of Ceylon from about 1319 till some year after 1347. During this period the dynasty was in extreme depression, and little is recorded except the names of the kings, Bhuwaneka Bahu II, Pandita Prakrama Bahu IV, Wanny Bhuwaneka Bahu III, Wijayabahu V. It must have been in the reign of one or other of the two last that Ibn Batuta visited the capital. The name *Kunár* applied to him by the traveller is perhaps the Sanskrit *Kunwar*, "The Prince". (See *Turnour's Epitome*, quoted above).

described as even then one of the finest cities of the island. It was the abode of the "Wazir and Admiral Jalasti," who kept about him a body of 500 Abyssinians. This personage is not impossibly the same with the Khwaja Jahan, who so politely robbed John Marignolli (*ante*, p. 357). It is not said whose Wazir and Admiral he was.

At Patlam he took ship again for Maabar, but as he approached his destination he again came to grief, the ship grounding some six or eight miles from the shore. The crew abandoned the wreck, but our hero stuck by it, and was saved by some pagan natives.

On reaching the land, he reported his arrival to the *de facto* ruler of the country. This was the Sultan Ghaiássuddin of Damghán, recently invested with the government of Maabar, a principality originally set up by his father-in-law, the Sherif Jalaluddin. The latter had been appointed by Mahomed Tughlak to the military command of the province, but about 1338-39 had declared himself independent, striking coin in his own name, and proclaiming himself under the title of Ahhsan Shah Sultan. Ibn Batuta, during his stay at Dehli, had married one of the Sherif's daughters, named Hhurnasab. "She was a pious woman," says her husband, "who used to spend the night in watching and prayer. She could read, but had not learned to write. She bore me a daughter, but what is become of either the one or the other is more than I can tell!" Thus Ibn Batuta was brother-in-law to the reigning Sultan, who, on receiving the traveller's message, sent for him to his camp, two days' journey distant. This brother-in-law was a ruffian, whose cruel massacres of women and children excited the traveller's disgust and tacit remonstrance. However, he busied himself in engaging the Sultan in a scheme for the invasion of the Maldives, but before it came to anything the chief died of a pestilence. His nephew and successor, Sultan Nasiruddin, was ready to take up the project, but Ibn Batuta got a fever at the capital, MUTTRA (Madura), and hurried off to FATTAN,[1] a large and fine city on the

[1] This *Fattan* of Maabar is also mentioned by Rashid, in conjunction with *Malifattan* and *Káïl*, in a passage quoted at p. 219 *supra* (see also p. 221). I am not able to identify it. It *may* have been *Negapatam*, but from the way in which our traveller speaks of it, it would seem to have

sea, with an admirable harbour, where he found ships sailing for Yemen, and took his passage in one of them as far as Kaulam.

Here he stayed for three months, and then went off for the fourth time to visit his friend the Sultan of Hunawur. On his way, however, off a small island between Fakanúr and Hunawur (probably the Pigeon Island of modern maps), the vessel was attacked by pirates of the wrong kind, and the unlucky adventurer was deposited on the beach stript of everything but his drawers! On this occasion, as he mentions elsewhere incidentally, he lost a number of transcripts of epitaphs of celebrated persons which he had made at Bokhara, along with other matters, not improbably including the notes of his earlier travels.[1] Returning to Calicut he was clothed by the charity of the Faithful. Here also he heard news of the Maldives; the Preacher Jamaluddin was dead, and the Queen had married another of the Wazirs; moreover one of the wives whom he had abandoned had borne him a son.[2] He had some hesitation about returning to

been the port of the city of Madura, and therefore I should rather look for it in the vicinity of Ramnad, as at Devi-patam or Killikarai, which have both been ports of some consideration. A place also called *Periapatan*, near Ramanancor, is mentioned by the historians of the Jesuit missions as much frequented for commerce, and as the chief town of the Paravas of the Fishery coast, but I do not find it on any map (*Jarric*, i, 628). Pattan or Fattan was probably the *Mabar* city of John Montecorvino and Marco Polo (see p. 216), and may be that which Abulfeda (probably by some gross mistranscription) calls *Biyardáwal*, "residence of the Prince of Mabar, whither horses are imported from foreign countries." There is indeed a place called *Ninarkovil*, near Ramnad, celebrated for a great temple (*J. R. A. S.*, iii, 165), which may be worth mentioning, because the difference between these two rather peculiar names (Biyardáwal and Nínarqáwal) would be almost entirely a matter of diacritical points; Kail and Malifattan (or Molephatam) are both to be sought in the vicinity of Tuticorin (see *Fr. Jordanus*, p. 40). Malifattan is no doubt the *Manifattan* of Abulfeda, "a city of Mabar on the sea shore" (see *Gildemeister*, p. 185).

[1] See iii, 28.

[2] He says this boy was now two years old. As the child was not born when Ibn Batuta left the Maldives in August 1344, his second visit must have been (according to this datum) at least as late as August 1346, and perhaps some months later. He goes to China (at the earliest) during the succeeding spring, and yet his book tells us that he is back from his China expedition and in Arabia by May 1347. There is here involved an error one way or the other of at least one year, and of two years if we

the Islands, as he well might, considering what he had been plotting against them, but encouraged by a new cast of the Sortes he went and was civilly received. His expectations however, or his caprices, were disappointed, for he seems to have stayed but five days and then went on to Bengal.

Ibn Batuta's account of what he saw in Bengal, and on his subsequent voyage through the Archipelago, will be given in extracts or in more detailed abstract, in connexion with the full text of his travels in China. We now therefore take up this short account of his adventures from the time of his return from the latter country.

After coming back from China he proceeded direct from Malabar to the coast of Arabia, visiting again Dhafar, Maskat, Hormuz, Shiraz, Ispahan, Tuster, Basrah, Meshid Ali and Baghdad, and thence went to Tadmor and Damascus, where he had left a wife and child twenty years before, but both apparently were now dead. Here also he got his first news from home, and heard of his father's death fifteen years previously. He then went on to Hamath and Aleppo, and on his return to Damascus found the Black Death raging to such an extent that two thousand four hundred died in one day. Proceeding by Jerusalem to Egypt he repeated the Mecca pilgrimage for the last time, and finally turned his face away from the East. Travelling by land to Tunis he embarked in a ship of Catalonia. They touched at Sardinia (*Jazírah Sardániah*), where they were threatened with capture, and thence proceeded to Tenes on the Algerine coast, whence he reached Fez, the capital of his native country, on the 8th November 1349, after an absence of twenty-four years.

Here he professes to have rejoiced in the presence of his own Sultan, whom he declares to surpass all the mighty monarchs of the East; in dignity him of Irák, in person him of India, in manner him of Yemen, in courage the king of the Turks, in long-suffering the Emperor of Constantinople, in devotion him of Turkestan, and in knowledge him of Java![2] a list of com-

depend on Ibn Batuta's own details of the time occupied by his expedition to China. See a note on this towards the end of his narrative (*infra*).

[2] In another passage he names as the seven greatest and most powerful

parisons so oddly selected as to suggest the possibility of irony. After all that he had seen, he comes, like Friar Jordanus, to the conclusion that there is no place like his own WEST.[1] "'Tis the best of all countries. You have fruit in plenty; good meat and water are easily come at, and in fact its blessings are so many that the poet has hit the mark when he sings,

> "Of all the Four Quarters of Heaven the best
> (I'll prove it past question) is surely the West!
> 'Tis the West is the goal of the Sun's daily race!
> 'Tis the West that first shows you the Moon's silver face!

"The dirhems of the West are but little ones 'tis true, but then you get more for them!"—just as in the good old days of another dear Land of the West, where, if the pound was but twenty pence, the pint at least was two quarts!

After a time he went to visit his native city of Tangier, thence to Ceuta, and then crossed over into Spain (*al Andalús*), going to see Gibraltar, which had just then been besieged "by the Latin tyrant, Adfunus" (Alphonso XI.)[2] From the Rock he proceeded

sovereigns in the world, 1. His own master, the Commander of the Faithful, viz., the King of Fez; 2. The Sultan of Egypt and Syria; 3. The Sultan of the two Iraks; 4. The Sultan Mahomed Uzbek of Kipchak; 5. The Sultan of Turkestan and Mawarannahr (Chagatai); 6. The Sultan of India; 7. The Sultan of China (ii, 382). Von Hammer quotes from Ibn Batuta also (though I cannot find the passage) the following as the characteristic titles of the seven great kings of the earth. The list differs from the preceding. 1. The *Takfúr* of Constantinople; 2. The *Sultán* of Egypt; 3. The *King* (Malik?) of the Iraks; 4. The *Khákán* of Turkestan; 5. The *Maharaja* of India; 6. The *Faghfúr* of China; 7. The *Khan* of Kipchak (*Gesch. der Gold. Horde*, p. 300).

The King of Fez in question, Ibn Batuta's lord, was Faris Abu Imán, of the house of Beni Merin of Fez, who usurped the throne during his father's lifetime in 1348, and died miserably, smothered in bed by some of his courtiers, November 1358. In a rescript, of his granting certain commercial privileges to the Pisans, 9th April, 1358, he is styled King of Fez, Mequinez, Sallee, Morocco, Sus, Segelmessa, Teza, Telemsen, Algiers, Bugia, Costantina, Bona, Biskra, Zab, Media, Gafsa, Baladt-ul-Jarid, Tripoli, Tangier, Ceuta, Gibraltar and Ronda, *i.e.*, of the whole of Barbary from Tripoli to the Atlantic coast facing the Canary Islands. But his claim to the eastern part of this territory must have been titular only, as his father had just lost them when Abu Iman seized the government. (*Amari, Diplomi Arabi del R. Arch. Fiorentino*, pp. 309, 476).

[1] *Fr. Jord.*, p. 55.

[2] *Thághiah-ul-Rúm*. Amari remarks (*op. cit.*, pp. ix-x): "The early

to Ronda and Malaga, Velez, Alhama and Granada, and thence returned, by Gibraltar, Ceuta, and Morocco, to Fez. But his travels were not yet over. In the beginning of 1352 he set out for Central Africa, his first halt being at SEGELMESSA, where the dates in their abundance and excellence recalled but surpassed those of Basra.[1] Here it was that he lodged with the brother of that Al Bushri who had treated him so handsomely in the heart of China.

On his way south he passed TAGHAZA, a place where the houses and mosques were built of rock-salt, and roofed with camel-hides,[2] and at length reached MALLI, the capital of Sudan.[3] Here he abode eight months, after which he went to TIMBUKTU, and sailed down the Niger to KAUKAU, whence he travelled to TAKADDA. The Niger he calls the Nile, believing it to flow towards Dongola, and so into Egypt, an opinion which was maintained in our own day shortly before Lander's discovery, if I remember rightly, by the *Quarterly Review*. The traveller mentions the hippopotamus in the river.

He now received a command from his own sovereign for his return to Fez, and left Takadda for TAWAT, by the country of

Mahomedans used to call all the Christians of Europe *Rúm*, i.e., Romans, but at a later date chose to distinguish between the Greek and German races, the subjects of the two empires, by applying the term *Farang*, i.e., Franks, to the Western Christians, and *Rúm* to the Byzantines; whilst not well knowing what to make of the Latin race, *headless* as it was, they called the Italians and Spanish Christians sometimes *Rúm* and sometimes *Farang*." The same author says elsewhere that *Thágiah* was applied to Christian princes almost in the Greek sense of *Tyrannus*, i.e., as impugning the legality rather than the abuse of their power.

[1] Segelmessa was already ruined and deserted in the time of Leo Africanus (*Ramusio*, i, 74). According to Reinaud it was in the same valley with the modern *Tafilelt*, if not identical with it. I think dates from the latter place (Tafilat) are exhibited in the windows of London fruiterers.

[2] *Taghasai* is an oasis in the heart of the Sahra, on the caravan route from Tafilelt to Timbuktu, near the Tropic. On the salt-built houses of the Sahra Oases see *Herodotus*, iv, 185, and notes in Rawlinson's edition.

[3] In passing the great Desert beyond Taghaza he gives us another instance of the legends alluded to at p. 157, *supra*. "This vast plain is haunted by a multitude of demons; if the messenger is alone they sport with him and fascinate him, so that he strays from his course and perishes" (iv, 382).

HAKKAR,[1] on the 12th September, 1353, reaching Fez, and the termination of those at least of his wanderings which are recorded, in the beginning of 1354, after they had lasted for eight and twenty years, and had extended over a length of at least 75,000 English miles.[2]

Soon after this the history of his travels was committed to writing under orders from the Sultan, but not by the traveller's own hand. It would appear, indeed, that he had at times kept notes of what he saw, for in one passage he speaks of having been robbed of them. But a certain Mahomed Ibn Juzai, the Sultan's Secretary, was employed to reduce the story to writing as Ibn Batuta told it, (not however without occasionally embellishing it by quotations and pointless anecdotes of his own), and this work was brought to a conclusion on the 13th December, 1355, just about the time that John Marignolli was putting his reminiscences of Asia into a Bohemian Chronicle. The editor, Ibn Juzai concludes thus:—

"Here ends what I have put into shape from the memoranda of the Shaikh Abu Abdallah Mahomed Ibn Batuta, whom may God honour! No person of intelligence can fail to see that this Shaikh is the Traveller of Our Age; and he who should call him the Traveller of the whole Body of Islam would not go beyond the truth."

Ibn Batuta long survived his amanuensis, and died in 1377-78, at the age of seventy-three.

The first detailed information communicated to Europe regarding his travels was published in a German periodical, about 1808, by Seetzen,[3] who had obtained an abridgment of the work in the

[1] *Melle*, south of *Timbuktu*, *Gogo* or *Gago*, on the Niger, south-east of the same, *Takadda*, *Hogar*, and *Tawat*, are all I think to be found in Dr. Barth's Map in the *J. R. G. S.* for 1860, but I have it not accessible at present. It is remarkable that the Catalan Map of 1375 contains most of these Central African names, viz., Tagaza, Melli, *Tenbuch*, *Geugeu*. The first three are also mentioned by Cadamosto.

[2] This is the result of a rough compass measurement, without any allowance for deviations or for the extensive journeys he probably made during his eight years' stay in India, etc.

[3] The proper title of the book is, "*A Gift for the Observing, wherein are set forth the Curiosities of Cities and the Wonders of Travel.*"

East, with other MSS. collected for the Gotha library. In 1818 Kosegarten published at Jena the text and translation of three fragments of the same abridgement. A Mr. Apetz edited a fourth, the description of Malabar, in 1819. In the same year Burckhardt's Nubian Travels were published in London, the appendix to which contained a note on Ibn Batuta, of whose work the Swiss traveller had procured a much fuller abridgment than that at Gotha. Three MSS. of this abridgment were obtained by Cambridge University, after Burckhardt's death, and from these Dr. Lee made his well-known version for the Oriental Translation Fund (London, 1829).

It was not, however, until the French conquest of Algiers, and capture of Constantina, that manuscripts of the unabridged work became accessible. Of these there are now five in the Imperial Library of Paris, two only being complete. One of these two, however, has been proved to be the autograph of Ibn Juzai, the original editor.

P. José de St. Antonio Moura published at Lisbon, in 1840, the first volume of a Portuguese translation of the whole work, from a manuscript which he had obtained at Fez in the end of the last century. I believe the second volume also has been issued within the last few years.

The part of the Travels which relates to Sudan was translated, with notes, by Baron McGuckin de Slane, in the *Journal Asiatique* for March, 1843; that relating to the Indian Archipelago, by M. Ed. Dulaurier, in 1847; that relating to the Crimea and Kipchak, by M. Defrémery, in 1850; and the chapter on the Mongol Sultans of the Iraks and Khorasan, also by Defrémery, in 1851, all in the same journal. M. Defrémery also published the Travels in Persia and Central Asia in the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* for 1848, and the Travels in Asia Minor in the same periodical for 1850-51. In it also M. Cherbonneau, Professor of Arabic at Constantina, put forth, in 1852, a slightly abridged translation of the commencement of the work, as far as the traveller's departure for Syria, omitting the preface.[1]

[1] All these bibliographical particulars are derived from the preface of the French translators.

Finally, the whole work was most carefully edited in the original, with a translation into French by M. Defrémery and Dr. Sanguinetti, at the expense of the Asiatic Society of Paris, in four volumes, with an admirable index of names and peculiar expressions attached (1858-59). From their French the present version of Ibn Batuta's voyage to China has been made. The plan of the Asiatic Society appears to have precluded a commentary; but a few explanatory notes have been inserted by the editors among the various readings at the end of each volume, and valuable introductions have been prefixed to the first three. In the fourth volume, which contains the whole of the traveller's history from the time of his leaving Dehli on the ill-fated embassy to China, this valuable aid is no longer given; for what reason I know not.

There can be no question, I think, as to the interest of this remarkable book. As to the character of the traveller, and the reliance to be placed on him, opinions have been somewhat various. In his own day and country he was looked upon, it would seem, as a bit of a Munchausen,[1] but so have others who little deserved it.

His French editors, Defrémery and Sanguinetti, are disposed to maintain his truthfulness, and quote with approbation M. Dozy of Leyden, who calls him "this honest traveller." Dulaurier also looks on him very favourably. Reinaud again, and Baron M'Guckin de Slane, accuse him either of natural credulity, or of an inclination to deal in marvellous stories, especially in some of his chapters on the far East; whilst Klaproth quite reviles him for the stupidity which induces him to cram his readers with rigmaroles about Mahomedan saints and spiritualists, when

[1] See in the App. to vol. iii, at p. 466, an extract from the *Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldún*. It mentions how our traveller, having returned from his long wanderings, was admitted to the court of his native sovereign. The wonderful stories which he related of the wealth and boundless liberality of Mahomed Tughlak excited incredulity. "Those who heard him relate these stories and others of the same kind at the court, whispered to one another that they were a parcel of lies and that the narrator was an impostor." Ibn Khaldun having expressed this view to the Wazir, received a caution against over-incredulity, backed by an apopthegm, which seems to have led him on reflection to think that he had been wrong in disbelieving the traveller.

details of the places he had seen would have been of extreme interest and value.

Though Klaproth was probably acquainted only with the abridgment translated by Lee, and thus had not the means of doing justice to the narrative, I must say there is some foundation for his reproaches, for, especially when dealing with the Saracenic countries, in which Islam had been long established, his details of the religious establishments and theologians occupy a space which renders this part of the narrative very dull to the uninitiated. It seems to me that the Mahomedan man of the world, soldier, jurist, and theologian, is, at least in regard to a large class of subjects, not always either so trustworthy, or so perspicacious as the narrow-minded Christian friars who were his contemporaries, whilst he cannot be compared with the Venetian merchant, who shines among all the travellers of the middle age like the moon among the lesser lights of heaven. There seems to be something in the Mahomedan mind that indisposes it for appreciating and relating accurately what is witnessed in nature and geography.

Of the confused state of his geographical ideas, no instance can be stronger than that afforded by his travels in China, where he jumbles into one great river, rising near Peking, and entering the sea at Canton, after passing Kingszé and Zayton, the whole system of Chinese hydrography, partly bound together by the Great Canal and its branches.[1] These do indeed extend from north to south, but in travelling on their waters he must, once at least, and probably twice, have been interrupted by portages over mountain ranges of great height. So, also, at an earlier period in his wanderings, he asserts that the river at Aleppo (the Koïk, a tributary of Euphrates) is the same as that called Al'Asi, or Orontes, which passes by Hamath.[2] In another passage he

[1] See i, 79, and hereafter in his travels through China.

[2] See i, 152, and French editors' note, p. 432. It is a remarkable feature in the Nile, according to Ibn Batuta, that it flows from south to north, *contrary to all other rivers*. This fact seems to have impressed the imagination of the ancients also, as one of the Nile's mysteries, and Cosmas says it flows slowly, because, as it were, *up hill*, the earth according to his notion rising towards the north.

confounds the celebrated trading places of Siraf and Kais, or Kish :[1] and in his description of the Pyramids, he distinctly ascribes to them a conical form, *i.e.*, with a circular base.[2] Various other instances of the looseness of his observation, or statements, will occur in that part of his travels which we are about to set forth in full. Sometimes, again, he seems to have forgotten the real name of a place, and to have substituted another, as it would seem, at random, or perhaps one having some resemblance in sound. Thus, in describing the disastrous campaign of the Sultan's troops in the Himalya, he speaks of them as, in the commencement, capturing *Warangal*, a city high up in the range. Now, Warangal was in the Dekkan, the capital of Telingana, and it seems highly improbable that there could have been a city of the name in the Himalya. (See iii, 326). One suspects something of the same kind when he identifies *Kataka* (Cuttack?) with the Mahratta country (*ib.*, p. 182), but in this I may easily be wrong; even if I be right, however, the cases of this kind are few.

Of his exaggeration we have a measurable sample in his account of the great Kutb Minár at Dehli, which we have still before our eyes, to compare with his description :—"The site of this mosque [the Jama Masjid, or Cathedral Mosque of old Dehli] was formerly a *Budkhánah*, or idol-temple, but after the conquest of the city it was converted into a mosque. In the northern court of the mosque stands the minaret, which is without parallel in all the countries of Islam. It is built of red stone, in this differing from the material of the rest of the mosque, which is white; moreover, the stone of the minaret is wrought in sculpture. It is of surpassing height; the pinnacle is of milk-white marble, and the globes which decorate it of pure gold. *The*

[1] See ii, 244, and French editors' note, p. 456.

[2] See i, p. 81. He gives a curious story about the opening of the great pyramid by the Khalif Mámún, and how he pierced its solid base with Hannibal's chemistry, first lighting a great fire in contact with it, then *sluicing it with vinegar*, and battering it with shot from a mangonel. Though Ibn Batuta passes the site of Thebes three times, and indeed names Luxor as one of his halting places, "where is to be seen the tomb of the pious hermit Abu'l Hajáj Alaksori," he takes no notice of the vast remains there or elsewhere on the Nile.

aperture of the staircase is so wide that elephants can ascend, and a person on whom I could rely, told me that when the minaret was a-building, he saw an elephant ascend to the very top with a load of stones." Also, in speaking of the incomplete minaret, which was commenced by one of the Sultans (I forget which) in rivalry of the Kutb Minar, he tells us that its staircase was so great that *three elephants* could mount abreast, and though only one-third of the altitude was completed, that fraction was already as high as the adjoining minaret (the Kutb)! These are gross exaggerations, though I am not provided with the actual dimensions of either staircase to compare with them.[1] This test I can offer, however, in reference to a third remarkable object in the court of the same mosque, the celebrated Iron *Láth*, or column: "In the centre of the mosque there is to be seen an enormous pillar, made of some unknown metal. One of the learned Hindus told

[1] The total diameter of the Kutb Minar at the base is 47 feet 3 inches, and at the top about 9 feet. The doorway is a small one, not larger at most I think than an ordinary London street-door, though I cannot give its dimensions. The uncompleted minaret is certainly not half the height of the Kutb; in diameter it is perhaps twice as great. Ibn Batuta was no doubt trying to communicate from memory the impression of vastness which these buildings had made upon his mind, and if he had not been so specific there would have been little fault to find.

In justice to him we may quote a much more exaggerated contemporary notice of the Kutb in the interesting book called *Masálak Al Absár*. The author mentions on the authority of Shaik Burhan-uddin Bursi that the minaret of Dehli was 600 cubits high! (*Notices et Extraits*, xiii, p. 180).

On the other hand, the account given by Abulfeda is apparently quite accurate. "Attached to the mosque (of Dehli) is a tower which has no equal in the whole world. It is built of red stone with about 360 steps. It is not square but has a great number of angles, is very massive at the base, and very lofty, equalling in height the Pharos of Alexandria" (*Gildemeister*, p. 190). I may add that Ibn Batuta was certainly misinformed as to the date and builder of the Kutb. He ascribes it to Sultan Muizzuddin (otherwise called Kaikobád), grandson of Balban (A.D. 1286-1290). But the real date is nearly a century older. It was begun by Kutb-uddin Eibék when governing for Shahab-uddin of Ghazni (otherwise Mahomed Bin Sam, A.D. 1193-1206), and completed by Altamsh (1207-1236). Ibn Batuta ascribes the rival structure to Kutb-uddin Khilji (Mubarik Shah, 1316-1320), and in this also I think he is wrong, though I cannot correct him.

me that it was entitled *haft-júsh*, or "the seven metals," from being composed of an amalgam of so many. A portion of the shaft has been polished, about a finger's length, and the sheen of it is quite dazzling. Iron tools can make no impression on this pillar. *It is thirty cubits in length, and when I twisted my turban-cloth round the shaft, it took a length of eight cubits to compass it.*" The real height of the pillar above ground is twenty-two feet, and its greatest diameter a little more than sixteen inches.[1]

As positive fiction we must set down the traveller's account of the historical events which he asserts to have taken place in China during his visit to that country, as will be more precisely pointed out in the notes which accompany his narrative. I shall there indicate reasons for doubting whether he ever reached Peking at all.[2] And his account of the country of Tawalisi, which he visited on his way to China, with all allowance for our ignorance of its exact position, seems open to the charge of considerable misrepresentation, to say the least of it. He never seems to have acquired more than a very imperfect knowledge even of Persian, which was then, still more than now, the *lingua franca* of Asiatic travel, much less of any more local vernacular; nor does he seem to have been aware that the Persian phrases which

[1] The pillar looks like iron, but I do not know if its real composition has been determined. It was considered by James Prinsep to date from the third or fourth century. I should observe that the shaft has been recently ascertained to descend *at least* twenty-six feet into the earth, and probably several feet more, as with that depth excavated the pillar did not become loose. But there is no reason to believe that it stood higher above ground in Ibn Batuta's time than now, and I gather from the statement that the diameter below ground does not increase. I am indebted for these last facts, and for the dimensions given above, to my friend M.-General Cunningham's unpublished archæological reports, and I trust he will excuse this slight use of them, as no other measurements were accessible to me that could be depended upon.

[2] When the traveller (iv, 244) tells us that the people of Cathay or Northern China used elephants as common beasts of burden in exactly the same way that they were used by the people of Mul-Jawa on the shores of the Gulf of Siam, he somewhat strengthens the suspicion that he never was in Northern China, where I believe the elephant has never been other than a foreign importation for use in war or court pomps.

he quotes did *not* belong to the vernacular of the countries which he is describing, a mistake of which we have seen analogous instances already in Marignolli's account of Ceylon. Thus, in relating the circumstances of a suttee which he witnessed on his way from Dehli to the coast, after eight years' residence in Hindustan, he makes the victim address her conductors in *Persian*, quoting the words in that language as actually used by her, these being no doubt the *interpretation* which was given him by a bystander.[1] There are many like instances in the course of the work, as, when he tells us that an ingot of gold was called, in China, *barkálah*; that watchmen were there called *baswánán*, and so forth, all the terms used being Persian. Generally, perhaps, his explanations of foreign terms are inaccurate; he has got hold of *some* idea connected with the word, but not the real one. Thus, in explaining the name of *Hájj-Tarkhán* (Astracan) he tells us that the word *Tarkhán*, among the Turks, signified a *place* exempt from all taxes, whereas it was the title of certain privileged *persons*, who, among other peculiar rights, enjoyed exemption from taxes.[2] Again, he tells us that the palace of the Khans at Sarai was called *Altún-Thásh*, or "Golden Head;" but it is *Básh*, not *Thásh*, that signifies *head* in Turkish, and the meaning of the name he gives is *Golden Stone*.[3]

There are some remarkable chronological difficulties in his narrative, but for most of these I must refer to the French editors,

[1] The story is related on his first entrance into Hindustan *àpropos* of another suttee which then occurred. But he states the circumstance to have happened at a later date when he was at the town of *Amjeri*, and I suppose this to have been the town of *Amjhera* near Dhar, which he probably passed through on his way from Dhar to Dautalabad in 1342 (iii, 137).

[2] *Tarkhan* is supposed to be the title intended by the *Turxanthus* of the Byzantine Embassy of Valentine (see note near end of Ibn Batuta's narrative, *infra*).

[3] See remark by Tr., ii, 448. Ibn Batuta tells us that it was the custom in India for a creditor of a courtier who would not pay his debts to watch at the palace gate for his debtor, and there assail him with cries of "*Daruhai Us-Sultán!* O enemy of the Sultan! thou shalt not enter till thou hast paid." But it is probable that the exclamation really was that still so well known in India from any individual who considers himself injured, "*Duhai* Maharáj! *Duhai* Company Bahádur!" Justice! Justice!

to whom I am so largely indebted. Others, more particularly relating to the Chinese expedition, will be noticed in detail further on.

After all that has been said, however, there can be no doubt of the genuine nature and general veracity of Ibn Batuta's travels, as the many instances in which his notices throw light upon passages in other documents of this collection, and on Marco Polo's travels (see particularly M. Pauthier's notes), might suffice to show. Indeed, apart from cursory inaccuracies and occasional loose statements, the two passages already alluded to are the only two with regard to which I should be disposed positively to impugn his veracity. The very passages which have been cited with regard to the great edifices at Dehli are only exaggerated when he rashly ventures on positive statements of dimension; in other respects they are the brief and happy sketches of an eye-witness. His accounts of the Maldive islands, and of the Negro countries of Sudan (of which latter his detail is one of the earliest that has come down to us) are full of interesting particulars, and appear to be accurate and unstrained. The majority of the names even, which he attaches to the dozen great clusters of the Maldives, can still be identified,[1] and much, I believe, of his Central African narrative is an anticipation of knowledge but recently regained. The passage in which he describes at length his adventures near Koel in India, when accidently separated for many days from his company, is an excellent example of fresh and lively narrative. His full and curious statements and anecdotes regarding the showy virtues and very solid vices of Sultan Mahomed Tughlak are in entire agreement with what is

[1] The names attributed by Ibn Batuta to twelve of the Maldive clusters are (1) Pálipúr, (2) Kannalús, (3) Mahal, the Royal Residence, (4) Taládíb, (5) Karáidu, (6) Taim, (7) Taladumati, (8) Haladumati, (9) Baraidu, (10) Kandakal, (11) Mulúk, (12) Suwaid, which last he correctly describes as being the most remote. The names corresponding to these as given in a map accompanying an article in the *J. R. Geog. Soc.* are, (1) Padypolo, (2) Colomandus? (3) Malé, the Sultan's Residence, (4) Tillada, (5) Cardiva, (6) —— ? (7) Tilladumatis, (8) Milladumadue, (9) Palisdus, (10) —— ? (11) Molucque, (12) Suadiva. M. Defrémery had already made the comparison with those given in Pyrard's voyage of 1619.

told by the historians of India, and add many new details. The French editors have shown, in a learned and elaborate tabular statement, how well our traveller's account of the chief events of that monarch's reign (though told with no attention to chronological succession) agrees with those of Khondemir and Firishta. The whole of the second part of his narrative indeed seems to me superior in vivacity and interest to the first; which, I suppose may be attributed partly to more vivid recollection, and partly perhaps to the preservation of his later notes.

Ibn Batuta has drawn his own character in an accumulation of slight touches through the long history of his wanderings, but to do justice to the result in a few lines would require the hand of Chaucer, and something perhaps of his freedom of speech. Not wanting in acuteness nor in humane feeling, full of vital energy and enjoyment of life; infinite in curiosity; daring, restless, impulsive, sensual, inconsiderate, and extravagant; superstitious in his regard for the saints of his religion, and plying devout observances, especially when in difficulties; doubtless an agreeable companion, for we always find him welcomed at first, but clinging, like one of the Ceylon leeches which he describes, when he found a full-blooded subject, and hence too apt to disgust his patrons and to turn to intrigues against them. Such are the impressions which one reader, at least, has gathered from the surface of his narrative, as rendered by MM. Defrémery and Sanguinetti.[1]

[1] In preparing this paper I have to regret not being able to look over Lee's abridgement, though I have had before me a few notes of a former reading of it. If I can trust my recollection, there are some circumstances in Lee which do not appear at all in the French translation of the complete work. This is curious. I may add that in the part translated by M. Dulaurier I have on one or two occasions ventured to follow his version where it seemed to give a better sense, though disclaiming any idea of judging between the two as to accuracy.

NOTE A. (See page 407.)

ON THE VALUE OF THE INDIAN COINS MENTIONED BY IBN BATUTA.

Though I have not been able to obtain complete light on this perplexed question, I will venture a few remarks which may facilitate its solution by those who have more knowledge and better aids available, and I am the more encouraged to do so because the venerable and sagacious Elphinstone, in his remarks on the subject, has certainly been led astray by a passage in the abridgment of our traveller translated by Lee. He observes (*H. of India*, ii, 208): "In Ibn Batuta's time a western dínár was to an eastern as four to one, and an eastern dínár seems to have been one-tenth of a tankha, which, even supposing the tankha of that day to be equal to a rupee of Akber, would be only 2¼*d* (*Ibn Batuta*, p. 149)."

But the fact deducible from what Ibn Batuta really says is, that what he calls the silver dínár of India *is* the tangah of other authors, corresponding more or less to the coin which has been called rupee (*Rúpíya*) since the days of Sher Shah (1540-45), and that this *silver* coin was equal to one-fourth of the *gold* dínár of the West (*Maghrib*, i.e. Western Barbary); whilst it was one-tenth of the gold coin of India, to which alone *he* gives the name of Tangah. Thus he says: "The *lak* is a sum of 100,000 [Indian silver] dínárs, an amount equal to 10,000 Indian gold dínárs" (iii, 106), with which we may compare the statement in the contemporary *Masálak-al-Absár* that the *Red* Lak was equal to 100,000 gold Tangah, and the *White* Lak equal to 100,000 silver Tangah (*Not. et Ext.*, xiii, 211-12). We may also refer to his anecdote about Sultan Mahomed's sending 40,000 *dínárs* to Shaikh Burhanuddin of Ságharj at Samarkand, which appears also in the *Masálak-al-Absár* as a present of 40,000 *Tangahs*. But the identity of Ibn Batuta's Indian silver dínár and the silver Tangah will be seen to be beyond question when this note has been read through.

The late Mr. Erskine, in his *H. of India under Baber and Humayun*, (i, 544), says that the Tangah under the Khiljis (the immediate predecessors of the Tughlaks on the throne of Dehli) was a *tola* in weight (*i.e.* the weight of the present rupee), and probably equal in value to Akbar's rupee, or about two shillings. And this we should naturally suppose to be about the value of the Tangah or silver dínár of Mahomed Tughlak, but there are statements which curiously diverge from this in contrary directions.

On the one hand, Firishta has the following passage: "Nizamood-deen Ahmed Bukhshy, surprised at the vast sums stated by historians as having been lavished by this prince (M. Tughlak), took the trouble to

ascertain from authentic records that these Tankas were of the silver currency of the day, in which was amalgamated a great deal of alloy, so that each Tanka only exchanged for sixteen copper pice," making, says Briggs, the tanka worth only about fourpence instead of two shillings (*Briggs's Firishta*, i, 410).

I doubt however if this statement, or at least the accuracy of the Bakshi's researches, can be relied on, for the distinct and concurring testimonies of Ibn Batuta and the *Masálak-al-Absár* not only lend no countenance to this depreciation, but seem on the other hand greatly to enhance the value of the Tangah beyond what we may call its normal value of two shillings.

Thus Ibn Batúta tells us repeatedly that the *gold* Tangah (of 10 silver dínárs or Tangahs) was equal to 2½ gold dínárs of Maghrib (see i, 293; ii, 65, 66; iii, 107, 426; iv, 212). The *Masálak-al-Absár* says it was equal to three *mithcals* (ordinary dínárs ?). The former says again that the silver dínár of India was equivalent to eight dirhems, and that "this dirhem was absolutely equivalent to the dirhem of silver" (iv, 210).

The *Masálak-al-Absár* also tells us, on the authority of a certain Shaikh Mubarak who had been in India at the court of M. Tughlak, that the silver Tangah was equal to eight dirhems called *kashtkání*, and that these were of the same weight as the dirhem of Egypt and Syria (o. c. xiii, 211); though in another passage the same work gives the value as six dirhems only (p. 194).

The only estimate I can find of a Barbary dínár is Amari's report from actual weight and assay of the value of the dínár called *Múmini* of the African dynasty Almohadi, current at the end of the twelfth century. This amounts to *fr.* 16.36 or 12*s.* 11.42*d.* (*Diplomi Arabi del R. Archiv. Fiorent.* p. 398). We have seen that ten silver dínárs of India were equal to two and a half gold dínárs of Barbary, or, in other words, that four of the former were equal to one of the latter. Taking the valuation just given we should have the Indian silver dínár or Tangah worth 3*s.* 2.855*d.* . . . (A).

Then as regards the dirhem. The dínár of the Arabs was a perpetuation of the golden solidus of Constantine, which appears to have borne the name of denarius in the eastern provinces, and it preserved for many hundred years the weight and intrinsic value of the Roman coin, though in the fourteenth century the dínár of Egypt and Syria had certainly fallen below this. The dirhem more vaguely represented the drachma, or rather the Roman (silver) denarius, to which the former name was applied in the Greek provinces (see *Castiglione, Monete Cufiche*, lxi, seqq.)

The dínár was divided originally into 20 dirhems, though at certain times and places it came to be divided into only 12, 13, or 10. In Egypt, in Ibn Batuta's time, according to his own statement, it was divided into 25 dirhems. His contemporary, Pegolotti, also says that 23 to 25 *diremi* went to the *Bizant* or dínár. In Syria in the following century we find Uzzano to state that the dínár was worth thirty dirhems; and perhaps this may have been the case in Egypt at an earlier date. For Frescobaldi (1384) tells us that the *daremo* was of the value of a Venice grosso (of

which there went twenty-four to the sequin), and also that the bizant was worth a *ducato di zeccha* (or sequin) and a quarter; hence there should have been thirty grossi or dirhems to the bizant (*Amari* in *Journ. Asiat.*, Jan. 1846, p. 241, and in *Diplomi Arabi* u.s.; *Ibn Bat.*, i, 50; *Della Decima*, iii, 68, iv, 113; *Viag. in Terra Santa di L. Frescobaldi e d'altri*, Firenze, 1862, p. 43). The estimates of the dínár also are various. Quatremère assumes the dínár in Irak at the beginning of the fourteenth century to be 15 francs, or 11*s.* 10½*d.*; Defremery makes 100,000 dirhems of Egypt equal to 75,000 francs, which, at Ibn Batuta's rate of 25 to the dínár, would make the latter equal to 14*s.* 10*d.*, or at 20 dirhems (which is probably the number assumed) 11*s.* 10½*d.* Pegolotti says the bizant of Egypt (or dínár) was worth 1⅛ florin, but makes other statements from which we must deduce that it was 1⅛,[1] valuations which would respectively make the dínár equal to 10*s.* 11.66*d.*, and 11*s.* 3.82*d.* Frescobaldi and his companion Sigoli both say that it was worth a sequin (or a florin) and a quarter, *i. e.*, 11*s.* 8.35*d.*, or 11*s.* 9.06*d.* Uzzano says its value varied (in exchange apparently) from 1 florin to 1⅛, or even 1¼; giving respectively values of 9*s.* 4.85*d.*, 10*s.* 6.9*d.*, and 12*s.* 6*d.* But he also tells us that its excess in weight over the florin was only 1¼ carat (or $\frac{5}{96}$), which would make its intrinsic value only 9*s.* 11*d.* MacGuckin de Slane says in a note on Ibn Batuta that the dínár of his time might be valued at 12 or 13 francs, *i.e.*, from 9*s.* 6*d.* to 10*s.* 3½*d.*; and Amari that the dínár of Egypt at the beginning of the fourteenth century was equal to the latter sum (*Quat. Rashideddin*, p. xix; *Ibn Bat.* i, 95; *Della Decima*, iii, 58, 77; iv, 110 *seq.*; *Viaggi in Terra Santa*, pp. 43, 177; *Jour. Asiat.*, March, 1843, p. 188; *Diplomi Arabi*, p. lxiv). On the whole I do not well see how the dínár of Egypt and Syria in our author's time can be assumed at a lower value than 10*s.* 6*d.*

Taking the dínár of Egypt and Syria at 10*s.* 6*d.*, and 25 dirhems to the dínár (according to our author's own computation) we have the dirhem worth 5.04*d.*, and the Indian dínár or Tangah, being worth eight dirhems, will be 3*s.* 4.32*d.* . . . . (B).

Or, if neglecting the whole question as to the value of the dínár and number of dirhems therein, we take Frescobaldi's assertion that the dirhem was worth a Venetian groat as an accurate statement of its value, we shall have the dirhem equal to $\frac{1}{96}$ of a sequin or 0*s.* 4.68*d.*, and the Tanga worth 3*s.* 1.44*d.* . . . (C).

But even this last and lowest of these results is perplexingly high, unless we consider how very different the relation between silver and gold in India in the first half of the fourteenth century is likely to have been from what it is now in Europe; observing also that all the values we have been assigning have been deduced from the value of gold coins estimated

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[1] For he tells us (p. 77) that 1 oz. Florence weight was equal to 6 bizants and 16¾ carats, the bizant being divided into 24 carats; and in another place (p. 202) that 96 gold florins of Florence were equal to one Florence pound. The resulting equation will give the bizant almost exactly equal to 1⅛ florin.

at the modern English mint price, which is to the value of silver as fifteen and a fraction to one.

The prevalent relation between gold and silver in Europe, for several centuries before the discovery of America took effect on the matter, seems to have been about twelve to one; and it is almost certain that in India at this time the ratio must have been considerably lower. Till recently I believe silver has always borne a higher relative value in India than in Europe, but besides this the vast quantities of gold that had been brought into circulation in the Dehli Empire since the beginning of the century, by the successive invasions of the Deccan and plunder of the accumulated treasures of its temples and cities, must have tended still more to depreciate gold, and it is very conceivable that the relative value at Dehli in 1320-1350 should have been ten to one, or even less.[1]

On the hypothesis of its being ten to one we should have to reduce the estimates of the dínár (A), (B), (C), by one third in order to get the real results in modern value. They would then become respectively 2*s*. 1.9*d*., 2*s*. 2.9*d*., and 2*s*. 0.96*d*., and the Tangah or silver dínár thus becomes substantially identified with the modern rupee.

The fact that the gold Tangah was coined to be worth ten silver ones may slightly favour the reality of the supposed ratio between gold and silver, as there seems to have been often a propensity to make the chief gold and chief silver coin of the same weight. I think that the modern gold mohur struck at the Company's Indian Mints is or was of the same weight as the rupee. See also (*supra*, p. 116) the statement in Wassaf that the *balish* of gold was just ten times the *balish* of silver.

I do not know whether the existence of coins of Mahomed Tughlak in our Museums gives the means of confirming or upsetting the preceding calculations.

In making them the twenty franc piece has been taken at the value of

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[1] For some account of the enormous plunder in gold, etc., brought from the south by Malik Kafur in 1310-11 see *Briggs' Firishta*, i, p. 373-4. See also *supra*, p. 219, for a sample of the spoil in gold appropriated by one of the minor Mahomedan buccaneering chiefs in the Peninsula. The treasures accumulated by Kalesa-Dewar, the Rajah of Maabar, in the end of the thirteenth century, are stated in the Persian History of Wassaf at 12,000 crores of gold, a crore being=10,000,000! (see Von Hammer's work quoted *supra*, p. 220). Note also that there was according to Firishta at this time none but gold coinage in the Carnatic, and this indeed continued to be the prevalent currency there till the present century (*Elphinstone*, ii, 48). We may observe too that even when the emperor assigns to Ibn Batuta a large present estimated in silver dínárs, it is paid in gold Tangahs (iii, 426). I may add a reference to what Polo tells us of the frontier provinces between Burma and China, that in one the value of gold was only eight times that of silver, in another only six times, and in a third (that of the Zardandan or Gold-Teeth—*supra*, p. 273) only five times that of silver; "by this exchange," quoth he, "merchants make great profit" (pt. i, ch. 46, 47, 48). Difficult of access as those provinces were, such an exchange must in some degree have affected neighbouring countries.

15*s*. 10.5*d*. English, and therefore the franc in gold at 0*s*. 9.69*d*. (*Encyl. Brit.*, article *Money*). The Florentine gold florin has been taken at *fr*. 11.8792, or 9*s*. 4.8516*d*. English, and the Venetian sequin at *fr*. 11.82, or 9*s*. 4284*d*. (*Cibrario, Pol. Economia del Medio Evo*, iii, 228, 248).

NOTE B. (See page 416.)

ON THE PLACES VISITED BY IBN BATUTA BETWEEN CAMBAY AND MALABAR.

I dissent entirely from Dr. Lee and others as to the identification of the places named by our traveller between Cambay and Hunawar.

Kawé or *Káwa* is by Lee taken for Gogo. But I have no doubt it is the place still bearing the same name, Cauvey in Arrowsmith's great map, Gongway or Conwa of Ritter (vi, 645-6), on the left bank of the Mahi's estuary over-against Cambay. It is, or was in Forbes's time, (*Oriental Memoirs*, quoted by *Ritter*) the seat of a great company of naked Sanyasis.

Kandahár is evidently the corruption of some Indian name into a form familiar to Mahomedan ears. It occurs also as the name of a maritime city near the Gulf of Cambay in the early wars of the Mahomedans of Sind, and in the *Ayin Akbari* (*Reinaud* in *J. As.*, s. iv, tom. v, 186). Starting from the point just identified, we should look for it on the *east* side of the Gulf of Cambay, and there accordingly, in Arrowsmith's map, on a secondary estuary, that of the Dhandar or river of Baroda between the Mahi and the Nerbudda, we find Gundar. We shall also find it in old Linschoten's map (*Gandar*), and the place is described by Edward Barbosa under the name of *Guindarim* or *Guandari*, as a good enough city and sea-port, carrying on a brisk trade with Malabar, etc. Debarros also mentions it as *Gendar*, a port between Cambay and Baroch (see *Barbosa and Debarros* in *Ramusio*, i; and also the Lisbon *Barbosa*, p. 277). The title, *Jálansi*, given by Ibn Batuta to the King of Gandar, probably represents the surname of the Rájpút tribe of *Jhálás*, which acquired large fragments of the great Hindu kingdom of Anhilwara on its fall in the beginning of the century, and whose name is still preserved in that of the district of Gujarat called *Jhaláwár* (see *Forbes's Rás-Málá*, i, 285-6, and 292 *seq.*) The form heard by Ibn Batuta may have been *Jhálábansi* or *—vansi*. The tribe of *Khwaja Bohrah* who paid their respects to the envoys here must have been the race or sect calling themselves *Ismailiah*, but well-known as traders and pedlars under the name of *Bohrahs*, all over the Bombay presidency. The head-quarter of the sect is at Burhánpúr in the east of Khandesh, but they are chiefly found in Surat and the towns of Gujarat (see *Ritter*, vi, 567.)

Bairam I take to be the small island of Perim, near the mouth of the Gulf of Cambay. It is, perhaps, the Βαιώνης of the Periplus. This island was the site of a fortress belonging to Mukheraji Gohil, Raja of Gogo and Perim, which was destroyed by the Mahomedans apparently in this very

reign of M. Tughlak, and never afterwards restored *(Forbes* op. cit.) This quite agrees with the statements of Ibn Batuta.

Kukah is then the still tolerably flourishing port of Gogo on the western side of the gulf, which has already been indicated as the *Caga* of Friar Jordanus (*sup.*, p. 228). Lee identified Kukah with *Goa*, whilst Gildemeister, more strangely though not without misgiving, and even Defrémery, identify the *Kawe* of our author with that city. The traveller's repeated allusions to the tides point distinctly to the Gulf of Cambay as the position of all the places hitherto named; the remarkable rise and fall of the tide there have been celebrated since the date of the *Periplus*.

The Pagan king Dunkúl or Dungól, of Kukah, was doubtless one of the "*Gohils*, Lords of Gogo and Perum, and of the sea-washed province which derived from them its name of *Gohilwár*" *(Forbes*, p. 158), and possibly the last syllable represents this very name *Gohil*, though I cannot explain the prefix.

Sindábúr or Sandábúr is a greater difficulty, though named by a variety of geographers, Europeans as well as Arabs. Some needless difficulty has been created by Abulfeda's confounding it more or less with *Sindán*, which was quite a different place. For the latter lay certainly to the north of Bombay, somewhere near the Gulf of Cambay. Indeed, Rawlinson (quoted in *Madras Journal*, xiv, 198) says it has been corrupted into the *St. John* of modern maps, on the coast of Gujarat. I presume this must be the *St. John's Point* of Rennell between Daman and Mahim, which would suit the conditions of Sindán well.

The data which Abulfeda himself quotes from travellers show that Sandabur was three days south of Tana, and reached (as Ibn Batuta also tells us) immediately before Hunawar. Rashid also names it as the first city reached on the Malabar Coast. The *Chintabor* of the Catalan map, and the *Cintabor* of the Portulano Mediceo agree with this fairly.

I do not know any European book since the Portuguese discoveries which speaks of Sandabur, but the name appears in Linschoten's map in the end of the sixteenth century as *Cintapor* on the coast of the Konkan below Dabul. Possibly this was introduced from an older map without personal knowledge. It disagrees with nearly all the other data.

Ibn Batuta himself speaks of it as the *Island* of Sandabur, containing thirty-six villages, as being one of the ports from which ships traded to Aden, and as being about one day's voyage from Hunawar. The last particular shows that it could not be far from Goa, as Gildemeister has recognised, and I am satisfied that it was substantially *identical* with the port of Goa. This notion is supported (1) by its being called by Ibn Batuta, not merely an island, but an island surrounded by an estuary in which the water was salt at the flood tide but fresh at the ebb, a description applying only to a Delta island like Goa; (2) by his mention of its thirty-six villages, for Debarros says that the island of Goa was called by a native name signifying "Thirty Villages"; and (3) by the way in which Sandabur is named in the Turkish book of navigation called the *Mohith*, translated by V. Hammer in the *Bengal Journal*. Here there is a section headed "24th Voyage; from *Kuwai Sindabur* to Aden." But the original

characters given in a note read *Koah* (*i.e.* Goa) *Sindabur*, which seems to indicate that Sindabur is to be looked for either in Goa Island, or on one of the other Delta islands of its estuary. The sailing directions commence: "If you start from Goa Sindabur at the end of the season take care not to fall on Cape Fal," etc. If we could identify this *Rás-ul-Fál* we might make sure of Sandabur.

The *name*, whether properly Sundapúr or Chándapúr, (which last the Catalan and Medicean maps suggest) I cannot trace. D'Anville identifies Sandabur with Sunda, which is the name of a district immediately south of Goa territory. But Sunda city lies inland, and he probably meant as the port *Sedasheogarh*, where we are now trying to reestablish a harbour. (*D'Anville, Antiq. de l'Inde*, pp. 109-111; *Elliot, Ind. to Hist. of Mah. India*, p. 43; *Jaubert's Edrisi*, i, 179; *Gildemeister* (who also refers to the following), pp. 46, 184, 188; *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, v, p. 464).

The only objection to these identifications appears to be the statement of our author that he was only three days in sailing from Kukah to Sandabur, which seems rather short allowance to give the vessels of those days to pass through the six degrees of latitude between Gogo and Goa. After all however it is only an average of five knots.

NOTE C. (See page 417.)

REMARKS ON SUNDRY PASSAGES IN THE FOURTH VOLUME OF LASSEN'S *INDISCHE ALTERTHUMSKUNDE*.

The errors noticed here are those that I find obvious in those pages of the volume that I have had occasion to consult. None of them are noticed in the copious Errata at pp. 982 and (App.) 85.

	REMARKS.
a. P. 888. "*Ma'ábar*, which name (with Marco Polo) indicates the southernmost part of the Malabar coast." The same is said before at p. 156.	*a*. The most cursory reading of Marco Polo shows that, whatever Maabar *properly* means, it *cannot* mean this with that author, including as it does with him the tomb of St. Thomas near Madras. But see *supra*, pp. 80 and 219. If Maabar ever was understood to *include* a small part of the S.W. coast, as perhaps the expressions of Rashid and Jordanus (p. 41) imply, this would seem to be merely because the name expressed a *country*, i.e., a superficies, and not a *coast*, i.e., a line. The name of Portugal would be most erroneously defined as "indicating the south coast of the Spanish peninsula," though Portugal does *include* a part of that coast.
	I find that the Arabs gave a name

analogous to that of *Ma'bar* (or the Passage) to the Barbary coast from Tunis westward, which was called *Bar-ul-Adwah*, Terra Transitûs, because thence they used to pass into Spain (*Amari* in *Journ. Asiat.*, Jan. 1846, p. 228). And it is some corroboration of the idea that the name *Ma'bar* was given to the coast near Ramnad as the place of passage to Ceylon, that a town just opposite on the Ceylonese coast was called *Mantotte*, because it was the *Mahatotta*, the "Great Ferry" or point of arrival or departure of the Malabars resorting to the island (*Tennent*, i, 564).

b. P. 889. "From *Kâlikodu* or Kalikut, the capital of the Zamorin, he (Ibn Batuta) visited the Maldives....On this voyage he met the ships on their voyage from *Zaitun*... On their decks were wooden huts for the crew, which consisted of *five and twenty men*."

b. Nothing is said by Ibn Batuta of meeting these ships on his voyage to the Maldives. He describes them at Calicut, where they were in port. He speaks of the crew as consisting of *one thousand* men.

c. "The captains were *Amirs*, i.e., Arabs."

c. See *supra*, p. 417.

d. "This kind of ship was only built in *Zaitun*."

d. These ships are distinctly stated to have been built in Zaitun, *and in Sinkalan*.

e. "From the Malabar coast Ibn Batuta sailed to Ceylon."

e. On the contrary, he sailed *from the Maldives*.

f. "The next land that he mentions is Bengal. Our traveller visited this country (about 1346) and found that between it and the southernmost part of the Dekkan *a most active traffic had sprung up, and also with China*."

f. I can find no ground for this statement in the narrative, except that Ibn Batuta got a passage somehow from the Maldives to Bengal, and afterwards in a junk which was going from Bengal to *Java* (Sumatra). At the latter place the sultan provided a vessel to carry him on to China..

g. Pp. 889-890. "From this (Bengal) he directed his travels to Java, as the name of that island is here given according to the more modern pronunciation; the island of Sumatra he calls *Jónah*, which, we should rather have expected to be *Jávonah*, as it is known to be called by Marco Polo *Java Minor*." (*In a note*):

g. From this we should gather (1) that Ibn Batuta calls Java by *that name*, and (2) calls Sumatra *Jaonah*, whilst (3) Lee introduces a name, *Mul-Java*, unknown to the correct narrative, as that of the port of Sumatra.

The fact is that Defrémery (whom Lassen cites) and Lee are in perfect accordance here. Sumatra Island is called *Java*; some other country, which

"The port where Ibn Batuta landed is called in the correct reading *Sumathrah*.....in Lee's translation the name is given incorrectly as *Mul-Jâva*."

both those translators take for Java Proper, is called *Mul-Java*, and *Jaonah* is found *absolutely nowhere* except in Lassen's page.

h. P. 890. "Passing hence (from Sumatra) our traveller *visited some of the Moluccas*; this is rendered certain by the fact that the author of these travels gives a pretty accurate description of the spice plants."

h. There is *not one word* in the narrative about any such visit, or anything that can be so interpreted. As for the accuracy of his description of the spice plants, look at it!

i. Ib. "On his further travels Ibn Batuta after *seven days* arrived at the kingdom of *Tualiçeh*. . .

i. The time in the narrative amounts to *seventy-one days* from Mul-Java, the last point of departure, to Tawalisi. There is nothing about seven days, any more than there is about the visit to the Spice Islands.

j. Ib. . . "By which name only *Tonkin* can be meant. The inhabitants of this kingdom, on account of their vicinity, had many relations, both hostile and peaceful, with the Chinese."

j. It is easy to settle difficult questions with a "can only," but there is nothing to make it clear that Tonkin is meant, and strong reasons arise against that view. And absolutely *nothing* is said in the narrative about vicinity to the Chinese. It is only said that the king had frequent *naval* wars with the Chinese, a fact which rather argues an insular position.

k. Ib. "In the Middle Kingdom, next to Zaitun the most important place of trade was the Port of *Sin-ossin* or *Sin-kalan*; this name must indicate Canton, which city stands on the river *Tshing-Kuang*, the form of which is tolerably echoed in the second reading of the name."

k. Sinkilan is indeed Canton, but it is by sounder reasons than this that it is proved to be so. One does not see why foreigners should call Canton by the name of its river, if Tshing-Kuang *be* the name; neither is there any great resemblance in the words. But we have seen that *Sín-kalán* is merely the Persian translation of *Mahá-chín*, and has nothing to do with Chinese words.

Moreover Sin-kalan is not an alternative reading (*Lesart*) of Sin-ossin (*Sin-ul-Sin*), but an alternative *name*.

It may be said that these errors are of trifling moment, and belong to a mere appendage of the subject of the book. But *noblesse oblige*; a work of such reputation as the *Indian Archaeologia* is referred to with almost as much confidence as the original authorities, and instances of negligence so thickly sown are a sort of breach of trust. Those already quoted are, all but one, within two pages. Going further we find others as remarkable:

l. P. 896. The name of one of the pepper ports on the coast of

l. The real name in Cosmas (as found in Montfaucon) is however not *Panda-*

Malabar is quoted from Cosmas Indico-pleustes (with a reference to *Montfaucon*, p. 337) as *Pandapattana*, a form which is made the basis of an etymology (as from the *Pandiya* kings).

m. P. 911. Lassen quotes the name applied to the Chinese by Theophylactus Simocatta (see the Essay at the beginning of this volume) as *Tengast*, citing the Bonn edition, p. 288.

n. In the appended tract on the Chinese and Arab knowledge of India, we have at p. 31 a statement that Ibn Batuta acquired the high favour of the then reigning Emperor of India, Muhammed *Toghrul*, of the *Afghan* dynasty of *Lodi*.

o. P. 84. "I will not omit to remark that *Wilhelm von Rubruck*, *Jean du Plan Carpin*, and *Benedictus Polonius* establish the fact that also, during the wide sway of the Mongol Emperor Jingis Khan and his successors, a commercial interchange existed between several of their provinces and India. The first of these pious envoys of the Roman court visited the Emperor Mangu Khan, who in 1248 was recognized as Supreme Khan of the whole empire; the second visited Kublai Khan, who from 1259 to 1296 wielded with vigorous hand the sceptre of his forefathers; the third belonged to *pattana* but *Pudopatana* (Πουδουπάτνα), which is much more likely to be "*New-city*," from the Tamul *Pudu*, "New," as in *Pudu-cheri*, commonly called Pondicherry. The port existed by the same name for a thousand years after Cosmas; see List of Malabar Ports, *infra*.

m. The name at p. 283 of the Bonn edition is not *Tengast*, but *Taugast* (Ταυγαστ). I have no longer access to the book, and I cannot say whether it is so differently written at p. 288. This change again (if it is such) favours an identification. The identification may probably be right, but would stand better on a sound bottom.

In the *Corpus Byzant. Histor.* the word is written Ταυγὰς, though the Latin version of the same has *Taugast*.

n. (1) Sultan Mahomed's name was not *Togrul* but *Tughlak*. Neither (2) was he in any sense of *Afghan* lineage; nor (3) did he belong to the *dynasty of Lodi*, which came a century after his time, with the Deluge between in the shape of Timur's invasion.

o. There are six errors in these few lines. (1) The mission of Rubruquis *followed* and did not *precede*, as is distinctly implied here, that of John of Plano Carpini. The former took place in 1253. (2) Rubruquis was not sent by the *Roman Court*, but by St. Lewis. (3) Plano Carpini and Bennet the Pole did not visit *Kublai Khan*, but *Kuyuk Khan*, and their travels took place in 1245-47, not after 1259 as is here implied. (4) All the three monks (and all other Franciscans), were *Fratres Minores*, and not Bennet only as is here implied. (5) Bennet did not join Plane Carpini *on a journey to Rome*, but was picked up at Breslaw as an interpreter by the latter when on his way from the Pope at Lyons to the Khan at

that branch of the (Franciscan) order which is termed *Fratres Minores* or *Mindern Brüder;* he was the comrade of the second, and joined him in Poland on a journey to Rome undertaken in 1245. He reached in his company the court of the founder of the Mongol empire at *Karakorum.*"

p. Turning back; at p. 402. In speaking of the practice of writing on the palm-leaves with a style, Lassen notes, "The leaves of the *Zwergpalme* (i.e. dwarf-palm) or *Phœnix Fructifera* are especially used for that purpose."

Karakorum. (6) In whatever manner the three travellers may "establish the fact" in question, it is not by saying anything on the subject in their narratives. As far as I can discover not one of the three contains a single word directly or indirectly as to commercial intercourse between the Mongol provinces and India.

p. Phœnix Fructifera is, I presume, the same as *Phœnix Dactylifera*, the date tree. If it *be* called dwarf-palm in Germany (which I doubt) it is very badly named; but in any case it would puzzle any Dwarf out of Lilliput to write upon its leaves. The leaf most commonly used for the purpose is that of the Palmyra (*Borassus Flabelliformis*), and, in Ceylon and the peninsula adjoining, that of the Talipat (*Corypha Umbraculifera*), a gigantic palm.

q. P. 511. In his description of the *Chandi Sewu* or "Thousand Temples" at Brambanan in Java, he adopts without question Mr. Crawfurd's view (formed fifty years ago when little was known about Buddhism), that these essentially Buddhist edifices have been each crowned with a lingam. Even if the temples were not Buddhist, who ever saw a lingam on the top of a temple? But in fact the objects in question are no more lingams than the cupolas over St. Paul's facade are *dagobas*. Indeed in the latter case the resemblance is much more striking.

r. P. 546. Here, in dealing with the Malay history as derived partly from the native chronicles cited by Marsden, and partly from the early Portuguese writers, Lassen meets with the name of a chief given by the latter as *Xaquem Darxa*. This hero he supposes to be the son of a certain Iskandar or Sikandar Shah mentioned in the Malay legends, and devises for his odd name a Sanscrit original "Çâkanadhara, d. h. Besitzer Kraftiger Beaitzungen;" accordingly he enters this possessor of strong possessions as an ascertained sovereign in the dynastic list under the name of Çâkanadhara. Yet this *Xaquem Darxa* (*Xaquemdar Xa*) is only a corrupt Portuguese transcript of the name of *Sikandar Shah* himself, (see *Crawfurd's Dict. Ind. Islands*, p. 242). King Çâkanadhara is therefore as purely imaginary as the Pandyan city ascribed to Cosmas or the Island of Jaonah for which Ibn Batuta is wrongly made responsible.

NOTE D. (See Page 418).

THE MEDIEVAL PORTS OF MALABAR.

It seems worth while to introduce here a review of the Ports of Malabar as they are described to have existed from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Many of these have now altogether disappeared, not only from commercial lists but from our maps, so that their very sites are sometimes difficult to identify. Nor are the books (such as F. Buchanan's Journey and others), which might serve to elucidate many points, accessible where this is written. But still this attempt to illustrate a prominent subject in the Indian geography of those centuries will I trust have some interest.

We shall take the Goa River as our starting point, though Malabar strictly speaking was held to commence at Cape Delly. Had we taken the whole western coast from Gujarat downwards the list would have been enlarged by at least a half.

The authorities recurring most frequently will be indicated thus:—B stands for Barbosa (beginning of the sixteenth century) in Ramusio; BL for the Lisbon edition of Barbosa; DEB for Debarros (to whom I have access only in an Italian version of the two first Decades, Venice, 1561, and in Ramusio's extracts); IB for Ibn Batuta; s for the anonymous *Sommario dei Regni* in Ramusio.

Sandabur, Chintabor, etc., see note B, *supra*.

Bathecala, a flourishing city on a river, a mile from the sea (*Varthema*); BEITKUL, in the now again well known bay of Sedasheogarh. I do not find it mentioned by any other of the early travellers, but in the seventeenth century it was the seat of a British factory under the name of Carwar, the name (Carwar Head) still applied to the southern point of the bay.

Anjediva (*Varth.*); ANCHEDIVA, an island a little south of Carwar Head, which was a favourite anchorage of the early Portuguese, the island affording shelter and good water.

Cintacola (B), Cintacora (BL), Centacola (Varthema), Ancola? (DEB); ANKOLAH? a fortress on a rock over the river Aliga, belonging to the *Sabaio* of Goa (B), the residence of many Moorish merchants (*Varth.*).

Mergeo River (B), Mergeu (BL and DEB), Mirgeo (S). A great export of rice; the river north of KUMTAH, on the estuary of which is still a place called MIRJAU, the Meerjee or Meerzah of Rennell. Of late years I believe the trade has revived at Kumtah, chiefly in the export of Dharwar cotton.

Honor (B), Onor (DEB and Cesar Federici), Hináwar (IB), Hannaur (*Abufeda*), Manor and Hunawur of Abdurrazzak, probably Nandor of the Catalan Map, HUNAWAR or ONORE (properly *Hunúr*?). A fine place with

pleasant gardens and a Mahomedan population (Abul. and IB); a great export of rice and much frequented by shipping (B), but long a nest of pirates.

Battecala (B), Baticala (BL and DEB), Batigala of *Fr. Jordanus*, BATKUL. A great place with many merchants, where ships of Hormuz and Aden came to load sugar and rice, but destroyed by the rise of Goa. (An English Factory in the 17th century).

Mayandur, on a small river (B), Bendor (DEB); perhaps the port of BEDNUR, which itself lies inland.

Bracalor (BL), Brazzalor (B, and *A. Corsali*), Bracelor (DEB), Baçelor (S), Abúsaror (IB), Basarúr (*Abulf.*); BARCELOR. A small city on a gulf, abounding in coco-trees (IB). (A Dutch Factory in the 17th century).

Bacanor (BL, DEB, S), Bracanor (B), Fakanúr, a large place on an estuary, with much sugar cane, under a pagan prince called Basadewa (IB), Fagnúr (*Rashid*), Jai-faknúr (*Firishta*), probably the Maganúr of *Abdurrazzak*, and the Pacamuria of N. Conti; BACCANOR. There was a great export of rice in ships of Hormuz, Aden, Sohar and Malabar from both Barcelor and Baccanor (B).

Carcara and Carnate (DEB), Carnati (*P. Vincenso*).

Mangalor (B, DEB, S, *Abdurrassak*), Manjarúr (IB and *Abul.*), Manganor of the *Catalan Map*, MANGALORE. Probably Mangaruth, one of the pepper-ports of Cosmas, but the Mandagara of Ptolemy and the Periplus must have been much further north. (It is curious that Ptolemy has also a Manganor, but it is an inland city). On a great estuary called Al-Dunb, the greatest on the coast; hither came most of the merchants from Yemen and Fars; pepper and ginger abundant; under a king called Ramadewa (IB). A great place on a great river; here the pepper begins; the river bordered with coco groves; a great population of Moors and Gentiles; many handsome mosques and temples (B). Fifty or sixty ships used to load rice here (*Varthema.*) Fallen off sixty years later, when C. Federici calls it a little place of small trade, but still exporting a little rice.

Maiceram (S), Mangeiron (DEB), Mangesairam (*Linschoten*), MANJESHWARAM. Nancaseram of Rennell?

Cumbala (B, DEB), Cumbola (BL), Cambulla (S), Coloal of *Rennell*? KUMBLAH. Exported rice, especially to the Maldives.

Cangerecora, on a river of the same name (DEB), CHANDRAGIRI?

Cote Coulam (S), Cota Coulam (DEB), Cote Colam (BL).

Nilexoram (S), Nilichilam (DEB), Lignicoron (*P. Vincenso*), probably Barbosa's "port on the Miraporam River," which he describes as the next place to Cote Coulam, "a seaport of Moors and Gentiles, and a great place of navigation." Though the name has been excluded by the defects and caprices of our modern maps, this is the NILESHWERAM, NELISURAM, or NELLISERR of Rennell and others, which has been identified by Rennell with the *Nelcynda* of the ancients. There can be little doubt that the river on which it stands was that on which was situated the kingdom of Ely of *Marco Polo*, Hili of *Rashid* and Ibn Batuta, Elly of the *Carta Catalana* (which marks it as a Christian city), and Helly or Hellim of *Conti*, who is, as far as I know, the last author who mentions a

city or country of this name. The name has continued to attach itself to a remarkable isolated or partially isolated mountain and promontory on the coast, first in the forms of Cavo de Eli (*Fra Mauro*), Monte d'Ili (*Fra Paolino*), Monte de Lin (DEB), Monte di Li (*P. Vincenzo*), and then in the corruption Mount Delly, or, as Rennell has it, Dilla. The name was also, perhaps, preserved in the RAMDILLY of Rennell, a fort on the same river as Nileshwaram, but lower in its course, which, before debouching near the north side of the mountain, runs parallel to the coast for ten or twelve miles. There is also a fort of Deela mentioned by P. Vincenzo and Rennell, immediately *north* of Nileshwaram. But all these features and names have disappeared from our recent maps, thanks, probably, to the Atlas of India, in which, if I am not mistaken, Mount Delly even has no place. However correct may be the trigonometrical skeleton of those sheets of that publication which represent the coast in question, I think no one can use them for topographical studies of this kind without sore misgivings as to the filling in of details. The *mountain* is mentioned by *Abulfeda* as "a great hill projecting into the sea, visible to voyagers a long way off, and known to them as Rás Haili," but he does not speak of the city or country. Barbosa says "Monte D'Ely stands in the low country close by the shore, a very lofty and round mountain, which serves as a beacon and point of departure for all the ships of Moors and Gentiles that navigate the Indian sea. Many springs run down from it, which serve to water shipping. It has also much wood, including a great deal of wild cinnamon" (BL). Marco Polo calls Ely an independent kingdom, 300 miles west of Comari (C. Comorin); it had no harbour but such as its river afforded; the king was rich, but had not many people; the natives practised piracy on such ships as were driven in by stress of weather; the ships of Manzi (S. China) traded thither, but expedited their lading on account of the insufficiency of the ports. Ibn Batuta speaks of Hili as a large city on a great estuary, frequented by large ships, and as one of the three (four) ports of Malabar which the Chinese junks visited. Pauthier observes in his Marco Polo, "Ely est nomée par Ptolemée Ἀλόη". But the Aloe of Ptolemy is an inland city, which must make the identification very questionable. If Nileshweram be Nelcynda, then probably we have a trace of Ely in the ELA*bacare* of the Periplus. But the passage seems defective (see *Hudson*, i, 33).

Mount Delly is mentioned by several authors as in their time the solitary habitat of the true cardamom. Can there be a connexion between the name Hili, Ely, and the terms Elachi, Ela, and Hil (the form in Gujarat and the Deccan according to Linschoten) by which the cardamom is known in India?

Maranel, a very old place, peopled with Moors, Gentoos, and Jews, speaking the country language, who have dwelt there for a very long time (BL), Marabia (DEB, *P. Vincenzo*), The Heribalca of (s) appears to be the same place, but the name looks corrupt. It is probable that the *balca* (for Balea) belongs to the next name, and then the *Heri* may be a trace of the lost *Hili*.

Balaerpatam, where the King of Cananor resided and had a fortress

(BL), Bolepatam (DEB), Patanam (S, but, if the conjecture under the last head be correct, *Bale*apatanam), BALEAPATNA of Rennell. Fra Paolino will have it to be the Balipatna of Ptolemy, and the Palaepatma of the Periplus. It would seem, however, that the ancient port must be sought much further north. (An English Factory in the 17th century.)

CANANOR (B, DEB, S). Export trade to Cambay, Hormuz, Coulon, Dabul, Ceylon, Maldives, etc. Many merchants and infinity of shipping (B). A great and fine city, of great trade; every year two hundred ships of different countries took cargoes here (*Varthema*). Probably the Jurfattan of *Ibn Batuta* three parasangs from Manjarur (and therefore the Jarabattan of Edrisi, though misplaced by him, and perhaps the Harrypatan, for Jaripatan, of *Firishta* in *Briggs*, iv, 532), the residence of the King called *Kowil*, one of the most powerful in Malabar, who possessed many ships trading to Aden, Hormuz, etc. The identification is confirmed by the fact that the Rajas of Cananor were really called *Kola-tiri* and their kingdom *Kola-nada* (*Fra Paolino*, p. 90-91). In the time of C. Federici it had become "a little city," but one from which were exported the whole supply of cardamoms, with a good deal of pepper, ginger, areca, betel, coco-nuts, molasses, etc.

Tarmapatam (B, S), Tramapatam (DEB), Tremopatam (BL), Tromapatam (*Varth.*), DHARMAPATAM; Darmaftun (for Darmafattan) of Rowlandson's *Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen* (p. 52). A great city of Moors who are very rich merchants and have many great ships; many handsome mosques (BL). Probably the Darapattan of Firishta (U.S.) and the Dehfattan of IB, which he represents as a great town with gardens, etc., on an estuary, under the same king as Jurfattan.

Terivagante (B), Firamuingate (BL), Tirigath (*P. Vincenso*); TELLICHERRI? (Eng. Factory in 17th cent.) across the river from the last place (B), as were also

Manjaim and Chamobai (BL), Mazeire and Chemobai (B), Maim and Chomba (DEB), Mulariam and Camboa (S), Maino and Somba (*P. Vincenso*), both places of the Moors, and of much navigation and trade (B), viz., MAHE and CHOMBE.

Pudripatam (B), Pedirpatam (BL), Pudipatanam (S), Puripatanam (DEB), the Peudifetania and Buffetania of Conti, the Budfattan of IB, and probably the Pudopatana of Cosmas (see preceding note A). In Ibn Batuta's time it was under the same prince as Jurfattan (which we have identified with Cananor), was a considerable city on a great estuary, and one of the finest ports on the coast. The inhabitants were then chiefly Brahmins, and there were no Mahomedans. In Barbosa's time again it is still a place of much sea trade, but is become "a place of Moors". The name is not found in modern maps, but it must have been near the WADDAKARRE of Keith Johnston's.

Tircori (B), Tericori (S); TIKODI; Corri of Rennell?

Panderani (B), Colam Pandarani (S), Pandarane (DEB and *Varthema*), Pandanare (BL), Fandaraina (*Edrisi* and IB), Fenderena (*Fra Mauro*), Fundreeah of *Rowlandson* (U.S., p. 51), Fundarene of Emanuel K. of Portugal (in a letter quoted in *Humboldt's Exam. Critique*, v, 101), Fanta-

laina of the Chinese under the Mongols (*Pauthier's Polo*, p. 532) Bandinana (for Bandirana) of *Abdulrassak*, Banderana of Balthasar Spinger (*Iter Indicum*, 1507, in *Voyage Litteraire* de deux Benedictins, 1724, p. 364), Flandrina of Odoric (*supra*, p. 75). A great and fine place with gardens, etc., and many Mahomedans, where such Chinese junks as stayed over the monsoon in Malabar were wont to lie (IB). A place entirely of Moors, and having many ships (B). But then in decay, for Varthema calls it "a poor enough place, and having no port". Opposite, at about three leagues distance, was an uninhabited island. This must have been the Sacrifice Rock of the maps. The place itself is not mentioned, to my knowledge, after Barbosa's time.

Coulete (DEB), Coulandi (*P. Vincenso*), Coilandy (*Rennell*); KOILANDI.

Capucar (B), Capocar (S), Capocate (DEB), Capucate (BL and *P. Vincenzo*), Capogatto, where there was a fine palace in the old style (*Varthema*). It has disappeared from our maps.

CALICUT (B, S, DEB), Cholochut of *Fra Mauro*, Kálikút, one of the great ports frequented by the Chinese junks, and the seat of the Samuri King (IB). From Spinger, quoted above, we learn that the Venetian merchants up to 1507 continued to frequent Calicut for the purchase of spices to be carried by the Red Sea, though the competition of Portuguese and *Germans* by the Cape was beginning to tell heavily against them.

Chiliate (BL), Chalia or Calia (S), Chale (DEB and *Linschoten*), Ciali (*P. Vincenso*), Shaliyat (*Abulfeda* and IB). Ibn Batuta stopped here some time and speaks of the stuffs made there which bore the name of the place. This stuff was probably *shali*, the name still given in India to a soft twilled cotton, generally of a dark red colour. The Portuguese had a fort at Shalia.

Beypúr, now the terminus of the Madras Railway, is not mentioned by any of the old travellers that I know of, till Hamilton (about 1700). Tippu Sultan tried to make a great port of it. (see *Fra Paolino*, p. 87).

Paremporam (S), Purpurangari (B), Propriamguari (BL), Parangale (DEB), Berengari (*P. Vincenso*); PERPEN ANGARRY of some maps, Perpenagarde of *Rennell*.

Paravanor (B), Parananor (BL); Parone of *Rennell*?

Ytanor (B), Banor (BL), Tanor (S and DEB), TANORE or Tannúr. These two places had great trade and were the residence of great merchants (B). This was an ancient city with many Christian inhabitants, and the seat of an independent Raja, but in the end of last century had become a poor village.

Panamè (B), Panane (S and DEB), PONANI. Many rich merchants owning many ships; the place paid the King of Calicut a large revenue from its customs (B). (French and English Factories, 17th cent.).

Beliamcor (S), Baleancor (DEB), BALLIANGOT of Rennell, and probably the Meliancota or Maliancora of Conti, "quod nomen magnam urbem apud eos designat, viii milliaribus patens".

Chatua (BL and DEB), Catua (B), Chetua (S), Chitwa (*Rennell*), Cettuva (*F. Paolino*); CHAITWA,

PALUR mentioned here by P. Vincenzo and F. Paolino. I do not know

if this is Parúr, mentioned by Claudius Buchanan as the site of the oldest church in Malabar; but it is probably the Paliuria of *Conti*.

Aykotta, at the mouth of the river of Cranganor was pointed out by tradition of the native Christians as the place where St. Thomas first set foot in India.

CRANGANOR (BL, S, DEB), Crangalor (B), said to be properly Kodangulor; Carangollor of P. Alvarez, where dwelt Christians, Moors, Jews and Cafirs, the Shikali of Abulfeda, Cyngilin of Odoric, etc. (*v. supra*, p. 75); according to some accounts one of the oldest royal cities in Malabar, one of the greatest centres of trade and the first place of settlement successively of Jews, Christians, and Mahomedans on this coast. It would seem to have been already in decay as a port in the time of Barbosa, who only says that the King of Cochin drew some duties from it. Sixty years later Federici speaks of it as a small Portuguese fort, a place of little importance. In 1806 Cl. Buchanan says:—"There was formerly a town and fort at Cranganore . . . but both are now in ruins." It continued, however, to be the seat of a R. C. Archbishop.

COCHIN (B, S, DEB), Cochim (BL), Gutschin of *Spinger*, Cocchi of *G. Balbi*; properly Kachhi. It was not a place of any trade previous to the fourteenth century. In the year 1341 an extraordinary land-flood produced great alterations in the coast at Cochin, and opened a capacious estuary, but the place seems to have continued of no great consideration till the arrival of the Portuguese, though now it is the chief port of Malabar. It is the Cocym of Conti, the first author, as far as I know, who mentions it. The circumstances just stated render it in the highest degree improbable that Cochin should have been the *Cottiara* of the ancients, as has often been alleged.

Porca (B, DEB), Porqua (BL); PARRAKAD. Formerly the seat of a small principality. Barbosa says the people were fishermen and pirates. Fra Paolino in the last century speaks of it as a very populous city full of merchants, Mahomedan, Christian, and Hindu. (Dutch Factory in 17th cent.).

Calecoulam (B and DEB), Caicolam (S), KAYAN KULAM. A considerable export of pepper; the residence of many Christians of St. Thomas (B). A very populous town sending produce to Parrakad for shipment (*F. Paolino*). (Dutch Factory in 17th cent.).

Coilam (BL), Coulan (B), Colam (S), Colom (*G. d'Empoli*), Colon (*Varthema* and *Spinger*), Kaulam (Abulfeda and IB), Coilon or Coilun (*M. Polo*), Coloen (*Conti*); Kaulam-Malè of the merchant *Suleiman* (A.D. 851), (see p. 71 *supra*); the Columbus, Columbum, Colombo, Colonbi of *Jordanus* and *Marignolli*, *Pegolotti*, *Carta Catalana*, *Fra Mauro*, etc.; the modern QUILON.

Polo speaks of the Christians, the brazil-wood and ginger, both called *Coiluny* after the place (compare the *gengiovo Colombino* and *versino Colombino* of Pegolotti and Uzzano), the pepper, and the traffic of ships from China and Arabia. *Abulfeda* defines its position as at the extreme end of the pepper country towards the east ("at the extremity of the pepper-forest towards the south," says Odoric), whence ships sailed direct to Aden; on a gulf of the sea, in a sandy plain adorned with many gar-

dens; the brazil tree grew there, and the Mahomedans had a fine mosque and square. *Ibn Batuta* also notices the fine mosque, and says the city was one of the finest in Malabar, with splendid markets, rich merchants, etc. It continued to be an important place to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Varthema speaks of it as a fine port, and Barbosa as a "very great city," with a very good haven, with many great merchants, Moors, and Gentoos, whose ships traded to all the eastern ports as far as Bengal, Pegu, and the Archipelago. But after this its decay must have been rapid, and in the following century it had sunk into entire insignificance. Throughout the middle ages it appears to have been one of the chief seats of the St. Thomas Christians.

There were several ports between Quilon and Cape Comorin, but my information about them is too defective to carry the list further.

THE TRAVELS OF IBN BATUTA IN CHINA,

PRECEDED BY EXTRACTS RELATING TO BENGAL AND HIS VOYAGE THROUGH THE ARCHIPELAGO.

HAVING sailed at last (from the Maldives) we were at sea for forty-three days, and then we arrived in Bengal. This is a country of great extent, and one in which rice is extremely abundant. Indeed I have seen no region of the earth in which provisions are so plentiful, but the climate is muggy, and people from Khorásán call it *Dúzakhast búr ni'amat*,[1] which is as much as to say, *A Hell full of good things!*

He then proceeds to give a number of details as to the cheapness of various commodities, from which we select a few:—

Mahomed ul Masmúdí the Moor, a worthy man who died in my house at Dehli, had once resided in Bengal. He told me that when he was there with his family, consisting of himself his wife and a servant, he used to buy a twelve-month's supply of food for the three of them for eight dirhems. For he bought rice in the husk at the rate of eight dirhems for eighty rothl, Dehli weight; and when he had husked it he still had fifty rothl of rice or ten kantárs.[2]

[1] Should be (*Pers.*) *Dúsakh ast pur-i ni'amat!* "*It is* a Hell full of wealth." This is much the way in which Sultan Baber speaks of India, concluding with the summary that "the chief excellence of Hindustan is that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver" (p. 333), and such I fear have been the sentiments of many others from further west.

[2] In a passage omitted he explains that an Indian dinar was equal to

I have seen a milch cow sold in Bengal for three silver dinars (the cattle of that country are buffaloes). As for fat fowls, I have seen eight sold for a dirhem, whilst small pigeons were to be had at fifteen for a dirhem... A piece of fine cotton cloth of excellent quality, thirty cubits in length, has been sold in my presence for two dinars (of silver). A beautiful girl of marriageable age I have also seen sold for a dinar of gold, worth two and a half gold dinars of Barbary. For about the same money I myself bought a young slave girl called Ashura, who was endowed with the most exquisite beauty. And one of my comrades bought a pretty little slave, called Lúlú (*Pearl*), for two golden dinars.

The first city of Bengal which we entered was called SADKÁWÁN, a big place on the shore of the Great Sea.[1] The river GANGES, to which the Hindus go on pilgrimage, and

eight dirhems of silver (see note A *preceding*), and that a rothl of Dehli was equal to twenty rothl of Barbary. The editors in a note on a previous passage say that a rothl and a half of Barbary was equal to a kilogramme, which (taken exactly) would make the Dehli rothl of that day equal to 28.78 *lbs. avoirdupois*. In another place (ii, 74) he applies the more appropriate term *mann* (or *maund*, as in Anglo-India) to the Dehli weight, and says it was equal to twenty-five rothl of Egypt. The former calculation is corroborated with an exactness which must be partly fortuitous by a deduction from a statement in the *Masálak-ul-Absár*. According to this work the current weights of Dehli were the *sir*, and the *mann* of forty *sirs*, precisely the terms and rates now current in Hindustan, but with different values. For the *sir* it is said was equal to seventy *mithkáls*. According to Amari the mithkal is 4.665 *grammes*, a datum which gives the *sir*=.72 *lb.*, and the *mann*=28.80 *lbs.* The modern "Indian maund" is a little over 82 lbs., and all the local maunds in the Bengal Presidency at this day approximate to that. We have seen (note A, p. 441) that the dinar probably represents the rupee. The quantity of unhusked rice purchased for the rupee in Ibn Batuta's time would therefore be about 2,300 lbs., equal to 28 modern maunds, about nine times as much for the money as I can remember ever to have heard of in our own time.

[1] Both Chatgánw (or Chittagong) and Satgánw (on the Hugli, some twenty-five to twenty-eight miles above Calcutta) were important havens when the Portuguese arrived in India, and the name here might from the pen of an Arab represent either of them. But Chittagong only of

the river JÚN[1] unite in that neighbourhood before falling into the sea. The people of Bengal maintain a number of vessels on the river, with which they engage in war against the inhabitants of LAKNAOTI.[2] The King of Bengal was the Sultan Fakhruddin, surnamed Fakhrah, a prince of distinction who was fond of foreigners, especially of *Fakirs* and *Súfís*.

The traveller then recapitulates the hands through which the sceptre of Bengal had passed from the time of the Sultan Nasiruddin (the Bakarra Khan of Elphinstone's History), son of Balaban King of Dehli. After it had been held successively by two sons of Nasiruddin, the latter of these was attacked and killed by Mahomed Tughlak.[3]

Mahomed then named as governor of Bengal a brother-in-law of his own, who was murdered by the troops. Upon this Ali Shah, who was then at Laknaoti, seized the king-

the two is near the shore of the ocean, and we know moreover that it was in this part of Bengal that Fakhruddin set up his authority. Hence Ibn Batuta must have landed at Chittagong.

[1] *Jún* is the name which our traveller applies to the Jumna. But it is difficult to suppose that even Ibn Batuta's loose geography could conceive of the Jumna, whose banks he had frequented for eight years, as joining the Ganges *near the sea*. That now main branch of the Brahmaputra which flows into the Ganges near Jafargunge is called the *Janai*, and I have heard it called by natives *Jumna*, though this I supposed to be an accidental blunder. Whatever confusion existed in our traveller's mind, I suppose that it was the junction of the Ganges and Brahmaputra of which he had heard.

[2] *Laknaoti* is the same as Gaur, long the capital of the Mahomedan governors and sultans in Bengal, the remains of which are scattered over an extensive site near Malda. Firishta distinguishes the three provinces into which Bengal was divided at this time as Laknaoti, Sunarganw, and Chatganw (*Briggs*, i, 423). It would seem that by *Bengal* Ibn Batuta means only the two latter.

[3] The second of these princes, Ghaiassuddin Bahádur Búrah, is entirely omitted by Firishta, but the fact of his reign has been established by a coin and other evidence, in corroboration of Ibn Batuta (*Defr. and Sang.* Preface to vol. iii, p. xxv). Some notes of mine from Stewart's History of Bengal appear to show that the reign of Bahádur Sháh is related in that work.

dom of Bengal. When Fakhruddin saw that the royal authority had thus passed from the family of the Sultan Nasir-uddin, whose descendant he was, he raised a revolt in Sadkáwán and Bengal, and declared himself independent. The hostility between him and Ali Shah was very bitter. When the winter came, bringing rain and mud, Fakhruddin would make an attack upon the Laknaoti country by the river, on which he could muster great strength. But when the dry season returned, Ali Shah would come down upon Bengal by land, his force that way being predominant.[1]

[1] These events are thus related by Stewart from Firishta and other Persian authorities:—

Mahomed Tughlak soon after his succession appointed Kadir Khan to the government of Laknaoti, and confirmed Bairam Khan in that of Sunarganw. These two chiefs governed their respective territories for some fourteen years with much equity. In 1338 Bairam Khan died at Sunarganw at the time when Sultan Mahomed was busy with the transfer of his capital to Daulatabad. Fakhruddin, the armour bearer of Bairam Khan, took the opportunity not only to assume the government, but to declare himself independent under the title of Sultan Sikandar. The Emperor ordered his expulsion by Kadir Khan, who marched against the rebel from Laknaoti, defeated him, and took possession of Sunarganw. There was a large sum in the treasury there, which Kadir Khan was preparing to forward to Delhi. Fakhruddin made known to the troops of Kadir Khan, that if they would kill their master and join him, he would distribute the treasure among them. They consented; Kadir Khan was slain, and Fakhruddin again took possession of Sunarganw, where he fixed his capital, proclaiming himself sovereign of Bengal, coining and issuing edicts in his own name. This was in 1340. He then sent an army to seize Laknaoti, but it was resisted and defeated by Ali Mubarak, one of the officers of the deceased governor, who, on this success, applied to the emperor for the government, but assumed it without waiting a reply, under the name of Alauddin, marched against Fakhruddin, took him prisoner, and put him to death, after a reign of only two years and five months, in 1342-3. A year and five months later, Ali Mubarak was assassinated by his foster brother, Iliyas, who took possession of the kingdom under the title of Shamsuddin, and established his capital at Pandua (now a station on the railway between Calcutta and Burdwan, where there are some curious remains of the Mahomedan dynasty). See *Stewart's History of Bengal*, pp. 80-84.

We see from Ibn Batuta, that the date assigned to the death of Fakhruddin by the historians is much too early. For the traveller's visit to Bengal appears to have occurred in the cold weather of 1346-47, so that Fakhruddin was reigning at least four years later than Stewart's author-

. . . . . .

When I entered Sadkáwán I did not visit the sultan, nor did I hold any personal communication with him, because he was in revolt against the Emperor of India, and I feared the consequences if I acted otherwise. Quitting Sadkawan I went to the mountains of KAMRU, which are at the distance of a month's journey. They form an extensive range, bordering on China and also on the country of TIBET, where the musk-antelopes are found. The inhabitants of those regions resemble the Turks [*i.e.* the Tartars] and are capital people to work, so that as a slave one of them is as good as two or three of another race.[1]

My object in going to the hill country of Kamru was to see a holy personage who lives there, the Shaikh Jalaluddin of Tabriz.[2] This was one of the most eminent of saints, and one of the most singular of men, who had achieved most worthy deeds, and wrought miracles of great note. He was (when I saw him) a very old man, and told me that he had seen the Khalif Mostasim Billah the Abasside at Baghdad, and was in that city at the time of his murder.[3] At a later date I heard from the Shaikh's disciples of his death at the age of one hundred and fifty years. I was also told that he had fasted for some forty years, breaking his fast only at intervals of ten days, and this only with the milk of a cow that he kept. He used also to remain on his legs all night. The shaikh was a tall thin man, with little hair on his face. The inhabitants of those mountains embraced Islam at his hands, and this was his motive for living among them.

Some of his disciples told me that the day before his

ities represent. The Ali Shah of Ibn Batuta is no doubt the Ali Mubarak of Stewart.

[1] A discussion as to the direction of this excursion to *Kámrú* will be found in Note E at the end of this paper.

[2] Further on he is styled *Shírázi*, instead of *Tabrízí* (iii, 287).

[3] The Khalif Mostasim Billah was put to death by Hulagu, after the capture of Baghdad in 1258, therefore eighty-eight years previous to this visit.

death he called them together, and after exhorting them to live in the fear of God, went on to say: "I am assured that, God willing, I shall leave you to morrow, and as regards you (my disciples) God Himself, the One and Only, will be my successor." Next day, just as he was finishing the noon-tide prayer, God took his soul during the last prostration. At one side of the cave in which he dwelt they found a grave ready dug, and beside it a winding sheet with spices. They washed his body, wound it in the sheet, prayed over him, and buried him there.

When I was on my way to visit the shaikh, four of his disciples met me at a distance of two days journey from his place of abode. They told me that the shaikh had said to the fakirs who were with him: "The Traveller from the west is coming; go and meet him," and that they had come to meet me in consequence of this command. Now he knew nothing whatever about me, but the thing had been revealed to him.

I set out with these people to go and see the shaikh, and arrived at the hermitage outside of his cave. There was no cultivation near the hermitage, but the people of the country, both Mussulman and heathen, used to pay him visits, bringing presents with them, and on these the fakirs and the travellers [who came to see the shaikh] were supported. As for the shaikh himself he had only his cow, with whose milk he broke his fast every ten days, as I have told you. When I went in, he got up, embraced me, and made inquiries about my country and my travels. I told him about these, and then he said, "Thou art indeed the Traveller of the Arabs!" His disciples who were present here added, "And of the Persians also, Master!"—"Of the Persians also," replied he; "treat him then with consideration." So they led me to the hermitage and entertained me for three days.

The day that I entered the shaikh's presence he was

wearing an ample mantle of goat's hair which greatly took my fancy, so that I could not help saying to myself "I wish to God that he would give it me!" When I went to take my leave of him he got up, went into a corner of his cave, took off this mantle and made me put it on, as well as a high cap which he took from his head, and then himself put on a coat all covered with patches. The fakirs told me that the shaikh was not in the habit of wearing the dress in question, and that he only put it on at the time of my arrival, saying to them: "The man of the West will ask for this dress; a Pagan king will take it from him, and give it to our Brother Burhánuddín of Ságharj to whom it belongs, and for whom it was made!" When the fakirs told me this, my answer was: "I've got the shaikh's blessing now he has put his mantle on me, and I'll take care not to wear it in visiting any king whatever, be he idolator or be he Islamite." So I quitted the shaikh, and a good while afterwards it came to pass that when I was travelling in China I got to the city of Khansá.[1] The crowd about us was so great that my companions got separated from me. Now it so happened that I had on this very dress of which we are speaking, and that in a certain street of the city the wazir was passing with a great following, and his eye lighted on me. He called me to him, took my hand, asked questions about my journey, and did not let me go till we had reached the residence of the sultan.[2] I then wanted to quit him; however he would not let me go, but took me in and introduced me to the prince, who began to ask me questions about the various Mussulman sovereigns. Whilst I was answering his questions, his eyes were fixed with admiration on my mantle. "Take it off," said the wazir; and there was no possibility of disobeying. So the

[1] Quinsai, Cansay, etc., of our European travellers, see pp. 113, 289, 354, &c.

[2] The viceroy, as appears more clearly below. But some of the viceroys under the Mongols seem to have borne the title of Wang or King, so that Ibn Batuta may not be altogether wrong in calling him *Sultan*.

sultan took the dress, and ordered them to give me ten robes of honour, a horse saddled and bridled, and a sum of money. I was vexed about it; but then came to my mind the shaikh's saying that a Pagan king would take this dress from me, and I was greatly astonished at its being thus fulfilled. The year following I came to the residence of the King of China at Khanbalik, and betook myself to the Hermitage of the Shaikh Burhanuddin of Sághárj. I found him engaged in reading, and lo! he had on that very dress! So I began to feel the stuff with my hand. "Why dost thou handle it? Didst ever see it before?" "Yes," quoth I, "'tis the mantle the Sultan of Khansá took from me." "This mantle," replied the shaikh, "was made for me by my brother Jalaluddin, and he wrote to me that it would reach me by the hands of such an one." So he showed me Jalaluddin's letter, which I read, marvelling at the shaikh's prophetic powers. On my telling Burhanuddin the first part of the story, he observed: "My brother Jalaluddin is above all these prodigies now; he had, indeed, supernatural resources at his disposal, but now he hath past to the mercies of God. They tell me," he added, "that he used every day to say his morning prayers at Mecca, and that every year he used to accomplish the pilgrimage. For he always disappeared on the two days of Arafat and the feast of the Sacrifices, and no one knew whither."[1]

When I had taken leave of the shaikh Jalaluddin I proceeded towards the city of HABANK, which is one of the greatest and finest that is anywhere to be found. It is traversed by a river which comes down from the mountains of Kamru, and which is called the Blue River. By it you can descend to Bengal, and to the Laknaoti country. Along the banks of this river there are villages, gardens, and water-wheels to right and left, just as one sees on the banks of the

[1] Lady Duff Gordon made acquaintance in Egypt with a very holy shaikh, who, though dwelling on the Nile, was believed by the people to perform his devotions daily at Mecca (quoted in the *Times*, Sept. 15, 1865).

Nile in Egypt. The people of these villages are idolaters, but under the rule of the Musalmans. The latter take from them the half of their crops, and other exactions besides. We travelled upon this river for fifteen days, always passing between villages and garden lands; it was as if we had been going through a market. You pass boats innumerable, and every boat is furnished with a drum. When two boats meet, the drum on board each is beaten, whilst the boatmen exchange salutations. The Sultan Fakhruddin before-mentioned gave orders that on this river no passage money should be taken from fakirs, and that such of them as had no provision for their journey should be supplied. So when a fakir arrives at a town he gets half a dinar. At the end of fifteen days' voyage, as I have said, we arrived at the city of SUNUR KÁWÁN[1]. . . . on our arrival there we found a junk

[1] Sunarganw *(Suvarna-gramma,* or Golden Town) has already been mentioned as one of the medieval capitals of Bengal. Coins struck there in 1353 and 1357 are described by Reinaud in *Jour. Asiat.*, iii, 272. It lay a few miles S.E. of Dacca; but I believe its exact site is not recoverable in that region of vast shifting rivers. It appears in Frau Mauro's map as *Sonargauam,* and must have continued at least till the end of the sixteenth century, for it is named as a district town in the *Ayin Akbari,* and retains its place in Blaeu's great Atlas (*Amst.* 1662, vol. x) as *Sornaquam.*

I formerly thought this *Sornagam* must be the CERNOVE of Conti. But the report of a paper on Bengal Coins by Mr. Edward Thomas (*Athen.*, Feb. 3, 1866) informs us that Laknaoti (Gaur) was renovated some time in the fourteenth century by the name of SHAHR-I-NAU (New City). Here we have *Cernove,* and still more distinctly the SCIERNO of Fra Mauro. Shahr-i-nau, I find, is also mentioned by Abdul-razzak *(India in the fifteenth cent.*, p. 6).

Sunarganw must dispute with Chittagong the claim to be that "city of Bengala" which has so much troubled those interested in Asiatic medieval geography, and respecting which Mr. Badger has an able disquisition in his preface to Varthema. That there ever was a town *properly* so-called, I decline to believe, any more than that there was a city of the Peninsula *properly* called Ma'bar (v. *supra,* p. 218), or that Canton was *properly* called Mahachin (p. 106); but these examples sufficiently show the practice which applied the name of a country to its chief port. The name becomes a blunder only when found side by side with the proper name as belonging to a distinct place. *Bengala* appears as a city in

which was just going to sail for the country of JAVA, distant forty days' voyage.

On this junk he took his passage, and after fifteen days they touched at BARAHNAGAR, where the men had mouths like dogs, whilst the women were extremely beautiful. He describes them as in a very uncivilised state, almost without an apology for clothing, but cultivating bananas, betel-nut, and pawn. Some Mahomedans from Bengal and Java were settled among them. The king of these people came down to see the foreigners, attended by some twenty others, all mounted on elephants. The chief wore a dress of goatskin with the hair on, and coloured silk handkerchiefs round his head, carrying a spear.[1]

the curious and half obliterated *Portulano Mediceo* of the Laurentian Library (A.D. 1351), and also in the Carta Catalana of 1375. By Fra Mauro *Bengalla* is shown in addition to Sonargauam and *Satgauam* (probably Chittagong). Its position in many later maps, including Blaeu's, has been detailed by Mr. Badger. But I may mention a curious passage in the travels of V. le Blanc, who says he came "au Royaume de Bengale, dont la principale ville est aussi appellée *Bengale* par les Portugais, et par les autres nations; mais ceux du pais l'appellent Batacouta." He adds, that ships ascend the Ganges to it, a distance of twenty miles by water, etc. Sir T. Herbert also speaks of "Bengala, anciently called *Baracura*," etc. (Fr. transl., p. 490). But on these authorities I must remark that Le Blanc is almost quite worthless, the greater part of his book being a mere concoction, with much pure fiction, whilst Herbert is here to be suspected of borrowing from Le Blanc; and there is reason to believe, I am sorry to say, that the bulk of Sir Thomas's travels *eastward of Persia* is factitious and hashed up from other books. One of the latest atlases containing the city of Bengala is that of *Coronelli* (Venice 1691); and he adds the judicious comment, "*creduta favolosa.*"

[1] Lee takes Barahnagar for the Nicobar Islands, Dulaurier for the Andamans. With the people of the latter there does not seem to have been intercourse at any time, but the Nicobars might be fairly identified with the place described by our traveller, were it not for the elephants which are so prominent in the picture. It is in the *highest* degree improbable that elephants were ever kept upon those islands. Hence, if this feature be a genuine one, the scene must be referred to the mainland, and probably to some part of the coast of Arakan or Pegu, where the settlements of the wilder races, such as the Khyens of the Arakan Yoma, might have extended down to the sea. Such a position might best be sought in the neighbourhood of the Island Negrais (NAGARIT of the Burmese), where the extremity of the Yoma Range does abut upon the sea. And it is worth noting that, the sea off Negrais is called by Cæsar Frederic and some other sixteenth century travellers, "the Sea of BARA." The combination of *Bara-Nagarit* is at least worthy of consider-

In twenty-five days more they reached the island of Java, as he calls it, but in fact that which we call SUMATRA.[1]

ation. The coloured handkerchiefs on the head are quite a characteristic of the people in question; I cannot say as much for the goat-skins.

Dulaurier, however, points out that *Barah Nagár* may represent the Malay *Bárat* "West," and *Nagárá* "City or Country." This is the more worthy of notice as the crew of the junk were probably Malays, but the interpretation would be quite consistent with the position that I suggest. I take the dog's muzzle to be only a strong way of describing the protruding lips and coarse features of one common type of Indo-Chinese face. The story as regards the beautiful women of these dog-headed men is exactly as Jordanus had heard it (*Fr. Jord.*, p. 44; and compare *Odoric*, p. 97). This probably alludes to the fact that among some of these races, and the Burmese may be especially instanced, considerable elegance and refinement of feature is not unfrequently seen among the

women; there is one type of face almost Italian, of which I have seen repeated instances in Burmese *female* faces, never amongst the men. A like story existed amongst the Chinese and Tartars, but in it the men *were* dogs and not dog-faced merely; this story however probably had a similar origin (see *King Hethum's Narr.* in *Journ. As.*, ser. ii, tom. xii, p. 288, and *Plano Carpini*, p. 657). I give an example of the type of male face that I suppose to be alluded to; it represents however two heads of the *Sunda* peasantry in Java, as I have no Burmese heads available.

[1] The terms *Jawa*, *Jawi*, appear to have been applied by the Arabs to the islands and productions of the Archipelago generally (*Crawf. Dict. Ind. Islands*, p. 165), but certainly also at times to Sumatra specifically, as by Abulfeda and Marco Polo (*Java Minor*). There is evidence however that even in old times of Hindu influence in the islands Sumatra bore the name of Java or rather *Yava* (see *Friedrich* in the *Batavian Transactions*, vol. xxvi, p. 77, and *preced.*).

It was verdant and beautiful; most of its trees being coco-palms, areca-palms, clove-trees, Indian aloes, jack-trees,[1] Mangoes, Jamún,[2] sweet orange trees, and camphor-canes.

The port which they entered was called SARHA, four miles from the city of SUMATRA or Sumutra, the capital of the king called Malik Al-Dhahir, a zealous disciple of Islam, who showed the traveller much hospitality and attention.

Ibn Batuta remained at the Court of Sumatra, where he appears to have found officials and brethren of the law from all parts of the Mahomedan world, for fifteen days, and then asked leave to proceed on his voyage to China, as the right season had arrived. The king ordered a junk to be got ready, supplied the traveller with all needful stores, and sent one of his own people to accompany him and look after his comfort.[3]

After sailing, he says, for one and twenty days along the coasts of the country belonging to Malik-Al-Dhahir, they arrived at MUL-JAWA,[4] a region inhabited by Pagans, which had an extent of some two months' journey, and produced excellent aromatics,

[1] *Shaki and Barki.* For details on which see *Fr. Jord.*, p. 13, and *supra*, p. 362.

[2] The French editors render this *Jambu*, but the *Jámun* which is meant here is quite another thing. On two former occasions (ii, 191; iii, 128) our traveller describes the fruit as being like an *olive;* which would be as like the Jambu or Rose-apple as a hawk is like a handsaw. The *Jámun*, which is common in Upper India and many other parts of the east, is really very much like an olive in size, colour and form, whilst the *Jambu* is at least as large as a duck's egg, in the different varieties exhibiting various shades of brilliant pink and crimson softening into white.

Erskine, in a note to Baber, notices the same confusion by a former commentator, and the source of it appears to be that the *Jámun* is called by botanists *Eugenia Jambolana*, the Rose-apple *Eugenia Jambu*, from which one must conclude them to be akin, though neither fruits nor trees have any superficial likeness (*Baber's Memoirs*, p. 325).

[3] Respecting Malik-al-Dhahir, son of Malik-al-Salah, first Mahomedan King of Sumatra, see *Dulaurier*. The port of Sarha is identified by this scholar with *Jambu Air*, a village of the Batta coast between Pasei and Diamond Point. In that case the city of Sumutra or Samudra, which has given a name to the great Island, cannot have been so far west as Samarlanga (see *supra*, p. 86; *Journ. Indian Archip.*, ii, 610; *Journ. As.*, ser. iv, tom. ix, p. 124; *Id.*, tom. xi, p. 94).

[4] See in note F at the end of the narrative, the editor's reasons for supposing Mul-Jawa to be a continental country on the Gulf of Siam.

especially the aloes-wood of KAKULA[1] and KAMARA, places which were both in that country.

The port which they entered was that of Kakula, a fine city with a wall of hewn stone wide enough to admit the passage of three elephants abreast. There were war junks in the harbour equipt for piratical cruising, and also to enforce the tolls which were exacted from foreign vessels. The traveller saw elephants coming into the town loaded with aloes-wood, for the article was so common as to be popularly used for fuel. Elephants were also employed for all kinds of purposes, whether for personal use or for the carriage of goods; everybody kept them, and everybody rode upon them.

The traveller was presented to the Pagan king, in whose presence he witnessed an extraordinary act of self-immolation,[2] and was entertained at the royal expense for three days, after which he proceeded on his voyage.

But in connexion with Mul-Jawa, where there was a market for the productions of the Archipelago, he takes occasion to state "what he knew of these from actual observation, and after verifying that which he had heard," and these statements it is well to quote at length, as throwing light on some of our author's qualifications as a traveller.

On Incense.

The incense tree is small, and at most does not exceed a

[1] *Kakula* is mentioned by Edrisi also, as a city towards China, standing upon a river which flowed into the Indian Ocean. Its people, according to that geographer, raised much silk, whence the name of *Kakali* was given to a kind of silk stuff (*Jaubert's Edrisi*, i, 185).

The position of *Kumára* or *Komar*, the place from which the Kumari aloes came, has been inextricably confused by the Arabian geographers, for whilst some applications of the name point distinctly to the region of Cape *Comorin*, other authorities as well as Ibn Batuta place it in the vicinity of the Archipelago, and others again appear to confound it with *Kamru* or Assam. Mr. Lane considers Sindbad's Komari to have been on one or other shore of the Gulf of Siam, and this quite agrees with the view taken by the editor of the position of Mul-Jawa. Abulfeda also places Komar to the west of *Sanf* or Champa, with a short day's voyage between the countries. If his Sanf, as is probable, includes Cambodia, this also would indicate the northern part of the Malay Peninsula.

[2] See *Fr. Jordanus*, p. 33 *note*.

man's height. Its branches resemble those of a thistle or artichoke; its leaves are small and narrow; sometimes they drop and leave the tree bare. The incense is a resinous substance found in the branches of the tree. There is more of this in the Musalman countries than in those of the Infidels.[1]

On Camphor.

As for the trees which furnish camphor they are canes like those of our countries; the only difference being, that in the former the joint or tube between the knots is longer and thicker. The camphor is found on the inside of each joint, so that when the cane is broken you see within the joint a similar joint of camphor. The surprising thing about it is that the camphor does not form in these canes till after some animal has been sacrificed at the root. Till that be done there is no camphor. The best, which is called in the country *Al Hardálah*, viz., that which has reached the highest degree of congelation, and a drachm dose of which will kill a man by freezing his breath, is taken from a cane beside which a human victim has been sacrificed. Young elephants may, however, be substituted with good effect for the human victim.[2]

[1] It is *Benzoin* of which he speaks here under the name of *Luban*, i.e. *Olibanum* or incense. The resin is derived from the *Styrax Benzoin* by wounding the bark. After ten or twelve years produce the tree is cut down, and a very inferior article is obtained by scraping the bark. It is imported in large white masses, resembling white marble in fracture. The plant which, as he says, is of moderate size, is cultivated chiefly in the Batta country of Sumatra, not far from the dominions of his friend Malik-al-Dhahir; hence probably his reference to the country of the Musulmans (*Crawf., Dict. Ind. Islands; Macculloch's Comm. Dict.*). The word *Al-Arshak* or *Harshaf*, which Defrémery translates "thistle or artichoke," is said by Dulaurier to mean "the plant called *Cynara Scolimus*."

[2] Dulaurier quotes an analogous practice in Tunking.

The description here given of the production of camphor has no resemblance to the truth, and I suspect that he may have confounded with camphor either something that he had learned about the *Tabashir* or siliceous concretion found in bamboo-joints, called by Linschoten *Saccar-Mambu* (bamboo-sugar), or *Spodium*, if that be not the

On the Indian Aloes-wood.

The Indian aloes is a tree like the oak, excepting that it has a thin bark. Its leaves are precisely like those of the oak, and it produces no fruit. Its trunk does not grow to any great size; its roots are long, and extend far from the tree; in them resides the fragrance or aromatic principle.

In the country of the Mahomedans all trees of aloes-wood are considered property; but in the infidel countries they are generally left uncared for. Among them, however, those which grow at Kákula are cared for, and these give the aloes of the best quality. Such is the case also with those of Kamára, the aloes-wood of which is of high quality. These are sold to the people of Java (Sumatra) in exchange for cloths. There is also a special kind of Kamári aloes which takes an impression like wax. As for that which is called *'Athás*, they cut the roots, and put them under ground for

same thing. For this last is explained by Cesare Federici to be "a congelation in certain canes," and in the work of Da Uzzano (*supra*, p. 283), there is mention several times of *Ispodio di Canna*. (The *Spodium* of Marco Polo is a different substance; as he describes it, a metallic slag).

"The Malay camphor tree *Dipterocarpus Camphora* or *Dryabalanops Camphora* of botanists, is a large forest tree, confined, as far as is known, to a few parts of the islands of Sumatra and Borneo, but in these abundant. The oil, both in a fluid and solid state, is found in the body of the tree where the sap should be" (*Crawfurd's Dict. of Ind. Isl.*). The description in the text is yet more inapplicable to the Chinese camphor, obtained by distillation from the *Cinnamomum Camphora*.

Far nearer the truth is the description of Kazwini the Arabian geographer. He says the camphor is drawn both in a liquid state and in gummy particles from the branches and stem of a tree large enough to shade one hundred men. He had heard that a season of thunder and earthquakes was favourable to the production. Like Marco Polo he speaks of the camphor of *Fansúr* as the best; supposed to be the modern *Bárús* on the west side of Sumatra (*Gildem.*, pp. 194, 209).

The word *Hardálah*, which Ibn Batuta applies to a species of camphor, does not seem to be known. I suspect he may have made a still further embroilment, and that what he has got hold of is the Malay *Artál*, corresponding to the Hindustani *Hartál*, "orpiment; native sulphuret of arsenic."

several months. It preserves all its qualities, and is one of the best kinds of aloes.[1]

On the Clove.

The trees that bear cloves grow to a great age and size. They are more numerous in the country of the infidels than in that of the Mahomedans; and they are in such profusion that they are not regarded as property. What is imported into our country consists of the wood (or twigs); what the people of our countries call the *Flower of Clove* consists of those parts of the flowers which fall, and which are like the flowers of the orange tree. The fruit of the clove is the nutmeg, which we know as the *sweet nut*. The flower which forms on it is the mace. And this is what I have seen with my own eyes.[2]

[1] According to Crawfurd the tree yielding *Agila*, eagle-wood or aloes-wood, has not been ascertained, but probably belongs to the *Leguminosæ*. There can be no doubt, he adds, that the perfumed wood is a result of disease in the tree, produced by the thickening of its sap into a gum or resin. The name *Aloes* ('Αλόη in *Cosmas*, p. 336) is probably a corruption of the Arabic name with the article *Al-'U'd*, "The Wood" (*par excellence*). It has nothing to do with any kind of aloe properly so called. The name *Agila*, which has been modified or erroneously translated into *Aquila*, *Eagle-wood*, *Adler-hols*, etc., is believed to be a corruption of *Aguru*, one of the Sanscrit terms for the article. Both Kákuli and Kumári aloes are mentioned by Avicenna among the good kinds, but not as standing highest. He names as the best the *Mandali*, and the *Hindi Jibali* or Indian mountain aloes; the *Samandúri*; the *Kumári*; the *Sanfi* (from *Champa*); the *Kákuli*; and the Chinese kind termed *Kasmúri*. Gerarde, in his "Herball," speaks of three kinds of lign-aloes as known in England in his time, differing greatly in quality and price. Gutzlaff also in our day speaks of three kinds in the markets of Cochin-China.

The term *'Athás*, according to Dulaurier, is not known elsewhere in this application; the word in Arabic means *sneezing*; perhaps it indicates an effect, like the Scotch *sneeshin* for snuff? (See *Gildemeister*, pp. 64-27; *J. R. G. S.*, xix, 102; *Gerarde*, p. 1623; *Maltebrun* in his Trans. of *Barrow's Cochin China*, ii, 351; *Varthema's Travels* with Mr. Badger's notes.)

[2] And yet it is thick with misstatements. The legend that cinnamon is the bark, the clove the flower, and the nutmeg the fruit, of one and the same tree, has come down to our day in Upper India, for I have been asked by a respectable Mahomedan at Dehli if it were not so; and Ibn Batuta is much more likely to have picked up this bit of economic botany in the Dehli Bazar than in the Moluccas as Lassen will have it. Strange

After leaving Kakula they sailed for thirty-four days, and then arrived at the Calm or Pacific Sea *(ul Bahr-ul Káhil)*, which is of a reddish tint, and in spite of its great extent is disturbed by neither winds nor waves. The boats were brought into play to tow the ship, and the great sweeps of the junk were pulled likewise.[1] They were thirty-seven days in passing this sea, and it was thought an excellent passage, for the time occupied was usually forty or fifty days at least. They now arrived at the country of TAWÁLISI, a name derived, according to Ibn Batuta, from that of its king.

It is very extensive, and the sovereign is the equal of the King of China. He possesses numerous junks with which he makes war upon the Chinese until they sue for peace, and consent to grant him certain concessions. The people are idolaters; their countenances are good, and they bear a strong resemblance to the Turks. They are usually of a copper complexion, and are very valiant and warlike. The women ride, shoot, and throw the javelin well, and fight in fact just

to say Dulaurier seems to accept the traveller's statement of the nutmeg being the fruit of the clove tree (*Journ. Asiat.*, ser. iv, tom. ix, p. 248; *Lassen*, iv, 890). The notion that the clove was the flower of the nutmeg appears also to have prevailed in Europe, for it is contradicted in a work of the sixteenth century (*Bodæ, Comment.* in *Theophrastum*, p. 992). Mandeville says in this case simply and correctly: "Know well that the nutmeg bears the maces, for right as the hazel hath a husk in which the nut is inclosed till it be ripe, so it is of the nutmeg and the maces" (p. 233).

What our author says however about the clove imported into the west consisting of the wood or branches is curious. A marginal note on the MS. translated by Lee observes: "This is perhaps what physicians call *Kirfat-ul-Karanful* or bark of clove." However that may be, no doubt it was the same as the *Fusti di Gherofani* of Pegolotti and Uzzano (see note, *supra*, p. 305.) The term *flower of clove* cited in the text is also used by those writers.

I may note here that the *Diction. de Trevoux*, under the words *Noix Giroflée* or *Noix de Madagascar*, describes a nut of that island as *Nux Caryophyllacea*; "La seconde écorce de cet arbre étant sechée ressemble en figure à la canelle, mais elle a le gout du girofle: on l'appelle *Canelle Giroflée*." I have not met with any recent description of this which would appear to be the *Kirfat-ul-Karanful* just mentioned.

[1] Polo mentions the practice of towing the large Chinese ships by their row-boats (iii, 1).

like the men. We cast anchor in one of their ports which is called KAILŪKARI. It is also one of their greatest and finest cities, and the king's son used to reside there. When we had entered the harbour soldiers came down to the beach, and the skipper landed to speak with them. He took a present with him for the king's son; but he was told that the king had assigned him the government of another province, and had set over this city his daughter. called Urdujá.

The second day after our arrival in the port of Kailukari, this princess invited the *Nákhodah* or skipper, the *Karáni* or purser,[1] the merchants and persons of note, the *Tindail* or chief of the sailors,[2] the *Sipahsalár* or chief of the archers, to partake of a banquet which Urduja had provided for them according to her hospitable custom. The skipper asked me to accompany them, but I declined, for these people are infidels and it is unlawful to partake of their food. So when the guests arrived at the Princess's she said to them, "Is there anyone of your party missing?" The captain replied, "There is but one man absent, the *Bakshi*[3] (or Divine), who

[1] This word *Karáni*, says Dulaurier, which Ibn Batuta translates by *Kátib* or clerk, is probably Persian, but of Mongol origin. The word is still in universal Anglo-Indian use, at least in the Bengal Presidency, as applied to writers in public offices, and especially to men of half-blood, for whom it has become almost a generic title; (vulgo *Cranny*).

[2] "*Tindail* or chief of the *Rajál*," which Defrémery renders "foot-soldiers," but I have ventured to follow Dulaurier in rendering it chief of the "sailors," both because this seems to be demanded by the context, and because the word *Tindail* is still in use in India, with usual (though not universal) application to a petty officer of native seamen.

[3] Defrémery translates *Bakshi* "le Juge," taking *Kasi* as the explanation given by Ibn Batuta. But the alternative reading *Fakiah* (Theologian) appears to be more probable. The word *Bakshi* is the Turkish and Persian corruption of *Bhikshu*, the proper Sanscrit term for a Buddhist monk; many of which class came to Persia with Hulagu and his earlier successors, whence the word came to be applied generally as meaning a *literatus*, a scribe, a secretary, and even according to Baber a surgeon. According to Burnes in modern Bokhara it indicates a *bard*. Under the Mahomedan sovereigns of India it came to mean an officer who had charge of registering all that concerned the troops, the assignation of quarters, etc. And hence probably has arisen by a gradual transfer its

does not eat of your dishes." Urduja rejoined "Let him be sent for." So a party of her guards came for me, and with them some of the captain's people, who said to me "Dŏ as the Princess desires."

So I went, and found her seated on her great chair or throne, whilst some of her women were in front of her with papers which they were laying before her. Round about were elderly ladies, or duennas, who acted as her counsellors, seated below the throne on chairs of sandalwood. The men also were in front of the Princess. The throne was covered with silk, and canopied with silk curtains, being itself made of sandal wood and plated with gold. In the audience hall there were buffets of carved wood, on which were set forth many vessels of gold of all sizes, vases, pitchers, and flagons. The skipper told me that these vessels were filled with a drink compounded with sugar and spice, which these people use after dinner; he said it had an aromatic odour and delicious flavour; that it produced hilarity, sweetened the breath, promoted digestion, etc., etc.

As soon as I had saluted the princess she said to me in the Turkish tongue *Husn misen yakhshi misen (Khúsh mísan? Yakhshi mísan?)* which is as much as to say, Are you well? How do you do?[1] and made me sit down beside her. This princess could write the Arabic character well. She said to one of her servants *Dawát wa batak katur*, that is to say, "Bring inkstand and paper." He brought these, and then

present meaning in the native army of India, viz., *Paymaster* (*Quatremère's Rashiduddin*, p. 184-198; see also *supra*, p. 149). Quatremère points out the occurrence of the term in the Byzantine historian Pachymeres under the form Μπαξής. Ibn Batuta may have resumed the religious costume which he wore before his appointment to the embassy—indeed he appears to have worn the mantle given him by the hermit Jalaluddin,—and his sanctimonious excuse from dining with the princess made the application of the term natural.

[1] Ibn Batuta had picked up these words on a former occasion when addressed to him by Alauddin Tarmashírín, Khan of Chagatai; but he then says they mean "*Are you well? You are an excellent man!*" (iii, 33.)

the princess wrote *Bismillah Arrahmán Arrahím* (In the name of God the merciful and compassionate!) saying to me "What's this?" I replied "*Tanzari nám*" (Tangri nam), which is as much as to say "the name of God;" whereupon she rejoined "*Khushn*," or "It is well." She then asked from what country I had come, and I told her that I came from India. The princess asked again, "From the Pepper country?" I said "Yes." She proceeded to put many questions to me about India and its vicissitudes, and these I answered. She then went on, "I must positively go to war with that country and get possession of it, for its great wealth and great forces attract me." Quoth I, "You had better do so." Then the princess made me a present consisting of dresses, two elephant-loads of rice, two she buffaloes, ten sheep, four rothls of cordial syrup,[1] and four *Martabans*, or stout jars,[2] filled with ginger, pepper, citron and mango, all prepared with salt as for a sea voyage.

The skipper told me that Urduja had in her army free women, slave girls, and female captives, who fought just like men; that she was in the habit of making incursions into the territories of her enemies, taking part in battle, and engaging in combat with warriors of repute. He also told me

[1] *Jaláb.*

[2] The word *Martaban* is unfamiliar to Dulaurier, who quotes from Father Azár a Maronite, that it means "a casket or vase for keeping medicines and comfits, etc." But the word is obviously used for the great vessels of glazed pottery, called Pegu or Martaban jars from the places where they were purchased, and which retained a wide renown up to the present century. "They make in this place" (Martaban), says Barbosa, "quantities of great porcelain jars, very big, strong, and handsome; there are some of them that will hold two hogsheads of water a piece. They are coated with a black glaze, are in great esteem among the Moors, bearing a high price among them, and they export them from this place with a great deal of benzoin" (*Livro de Duarte Barbosa*, p. 367). Linschoten speaks to the same effect, adding that they were used on the Portuguese Indiamen for storing oil and water. So also Jarric: "Vas figlina quæ vulgo *Martabania* dicuntur per Indiam nota sunt..... Per orientem omnem, quin et Lusitaniam horum est usus" (*Linsch.*, c. xvii; *Jar.*, iii, pt. ii, p. 389).

that on one occasion an obstinate battle took place between this princess and one of her enemies; a great number of her soldiers had been slain, and her whole force was on the point of running away, when Urduja rushed to the front, and forcing her way through the ranks of the combatants till she got at the king himself with whom she was at war, she dealt him a mortal wound, so that he died, and his troops fled. The princess returned with his head carried on a spear, and the king's family paid a vast sum to redeem it. And when the princess rejoined her father he gave her this city of Kailukari, which her brother had previously governed. I heard likewise from the same skipper that various sons of kings had sought Urduja's hand, but she always answered, "I will marry no one but him who shall fight and conquer me!" so they all avoided the trial, for fear of the shame of being beaten by her.[1]

We quitted the country of Tawálisi, and after a voyage of seventeen days, during which the wind was always favourable, we arrived in CHINA.

This is a vast country; and it abounds in all sorts of good things, fruit, corn, gold and silver; no other country in the world can rival China in that respect. It is traversed by the river which is called *Ab-i-Haiyah*, signifying the Water of Life. It is also called the river SÁRÚ, just like the Indian river. It source is among the mountains near the city of KHANBALIK, which are known by the name of *Kuh-i-Búznah* or Monkey Mountains. This river runs through the heart of China, for a distance of six months' journey, reaching at last Sín-ul-Sín.[2] It is bordered throughout with villages, culti-

[1] On *Tawálisi*, see Note G at the end of the Narrative.

[2] See remarks on Ibn Batuta's notion of the great River of China in the introductory notices. *Sarú* is no doubt, as explained by Defrémery, intended for the Mongol word *Sárú or Sári* yellow, a translation of the Chinese Hwang-Ho, whilst the Indian River is that of which he has spoken in previous passages of his book (c. ii and iii, 437) as the *Sarúr* or *Sarú*, viz., the Sarju, Sarya, or Gogra.

vated plains, orchards, and markets, just like the Nile in Egypt; but this country is still more flourishing, and there are on the banks a great number of hydraulic wheels. You find in China a great deal of sugar as good as that of Egypt, better in fact; you find also grapes and plums. I used to think that the plum called *Othmani*, which you get at Damascus, was peerless; but I found how wrong I was when I became acquainted with the plum of China. In this country there is also an excellent water-melon which is like that of Khwárezm and Ispahan. In short all our fruits have their match in China, or rather they are excelled. There is also great store of wheat, and I never anywhere saw it finer or better. One may say just the same of the peas and beans.

Porcelain is made in China nowhere except in the cities of ZAITÚN and SIN-KALÁN. It is made by means of a certain earth got from the mountains of those provinces, which takes fire like charcoal as we shall relate hereafter. The potters add a certain stone which is found in that country; they burn it for three days, and then pour water on it, so that the whole falls to powder, and this they cause to ferment. That which has been in fermentation for a whole month, neither more nor less, gives the best porcelain; that which has not fermented for more than ten days gives one of inferior quality. Porcelain in China is of about the same value as earthenware with us, or even less. 'Tis exported to India and elsewhere, passing from country to country till it reaches us in Morocco. 'Tis certainly the finest of all pottery-ware.[1]

[1] Marco Polo also mentions the porcelain manufacture in connexion with his account of Zayton, as being found at Timinguy (according to Pauthier's edition Tyunguy), a city in the neighbourhood. This Pauthier supposes to be *Tek-hua*, a town about sixty miles north of Thsiuan-cheu or Zayton, where, according to the Imperial geography, vases of white china were anciently manufactured, which enjoyed a great reputation. (*Marc Pol*, p. 532).

The china-ware of Fokien and Canton is now of a very ordinary description, the manufacture of real porcelain being confined to Kingte-

The cocks and hens of China are very big, bigger in fact than our geese. The hen's egg also there is bigger than our goose eggs; whilst their goose on the other hand is a very small one. I one day bought a hen which I wanted to boil, but one pot would not hold it, and I was obliged to take two! As for the cocks in China they are as big as ostriches! Sometimes one sheds his feathers and then the great red object is a sight to see! The first time in my life that I saw a China cock was in the city of Kaulam. I had at first taken it for an ostrich, and I was looking at it with great wonder, when the owner said to me, "Pooh! there are cocks in China much bigger than that!" and when I got there I found he had said no more than the truth.

The Chinese are infidels and idolaters, and they burn their dead after the manner of Hindus.[1] Their king is a Tartar of the family of Tankíz Khan.[2] In each of their cities a special quarter is assigned to the Mahomedans, where these latter dwell by themselves, and have their mosques for prayer, and for Friday and other services. They are treated with consideration and respect. The flesh of swine and dogs is eaten by the Chinese pagans, and it is sold publicly in their markets. They are generally well-to-do opulent people, but they are not sufficiently particular either in dress or diet. You will see one of their great merchants, the owner of uncountable treasure, going about in a dirty cotton frock.[3] The Chinese taste is entirely for the accumulation of gold and silver plate.

chin in the province of Kiangsi. I have no account of the manufacture, such as enables me to trace the basis of anything here related by Ibn Batuta, but it looks like crude gossip; as if he had heard of the porcelain clay of China, and of the Coal of China, and had, like one of Dickens's illustrious characters, "combined the information."

[1] This has already been noticed at p. 247. Though no longer the practise, we see by Marco Polo and other authors that it was formerly very general in some parts of China.

[2] So Ibn Batuta always calls Chinghiz; I know not why.

[3] "The great sin of the Chinese costume is the paucity of white linen and consequently of washing" (*Davis's Chinese*).

They all carry a stick with an iron ferule, on which they lean in walking, and this they call their third leg.

Silk is very plentiful in China, for the worms which produce it attach themselves to certain fruits on which they feed, and require little attention. This is how they come to have silk in such abundance that it is used for clothing even by poor monks and beggars. Indeed, but for the demand among merchants, silk would there have no value at all. Among the Chinese one cotton dress is worth two or three of silk.

They have a custom among them for every merchant to cast into ingots all the gold and silver that he possesses, each of these ingots weighing a hundredweight, more or less, and these he places over the gate of his house. The man who has accumulated five such ingots puts a ring on his finger; he who has ten puts two rings; he who has fifteen is called *Satí*, which amounts to the same thing as *Káramí* in Egypt. An ingot is in China called *Barkálah*.[1]

The people of China do not use either gold or silver coin in their commercial dealings. The whole amount of those metals that reaches the country is cast into ingots as I have just said. Their buying and selling is carried on by means of pieces of paper about as big as the palm of the hand, carrying the mark or seal of the Emperor. Twenty-five of these bills are called *bálisht*, which is as much as to say with us

[1] *Pers.* Pargálah, *frustum, segmentum* (*Meninski*). *Sati*, again, is probably the Indian word *Set*, or *Cheti* as it is called by some old travellers. The *Karami* merchants were a sort of guild or corporation in Egypt, who appear to have been chiefly occupied in the spice trade. Quatremère gives many quotations mentioning them, but without throwing much light on the subject (see *Not. et Extraits*, xii, 639, and xiv, 214). It is a common story in India, of rich Hindu bankers and the like, that they build gold bricks into the walls of their houses.

The *Masálak-al Absár* relates that in some of the Indian islands there are men who, when they have succeeded in filling one pot with gold, put a flag on their house-top, and another flag for each succeeding potful. Sometimes, it is said, as many as ten of these flags are seen on one roof. And in Russia, according to Ibn Fozlan, when a man possessed 10,000 dirhems, his wife wore one gold chain, two gold chains for 20,000 dirhems, and so on (*Not. et Extraits*, xiii, p. 219; *Ibn Fozlan* by *Fraehn*, p. 5).

"*a dínár.*"[1] When anyone finds that notes of this kind in his possession are worn or torn he takes them to a certain public office analogous to the Mint in our country, and there he gets new notes for his old ones. He incurs no expense whatever in doing this, for the people who have the making of these

[1] I do not understand the text to mean that a *balisht* is precisely worth a *dinar*, but that it is the unit in which sums are reckoned by the Chinese as the dinar is with the Mahomedans. Paper money has been spoken of at pp. 287-89, and at p. 116 some speculations were ventured on the origin of the term *Balisht* or *Balish*. I have since been led to believe that it must be a corruption of the Latin *follis*.

The common meaning of that word is a *bellows*; but it was used also by late classical writers for a leather money-bag, and afterwards (in some sense) for money itself, "just as to this day the Italians apply the term *purse* to a certain sum of money among the Turks" (*Facciolati*, Lipsiæ, 1839). Further, the term *follis* was also applied to a certain "pulvillus, sedentibus subjectus, qui non tomento aut plumâ inferciebatur, sed vento inflabatur," or, in short, to an *air-cushion*.

Now we have seen (p. 116) that *Balish* was also applied to a kind of cushion, as well as to a sum of money, such as in later days the Turks called a *purse*. This double analogy would be curious enough as a coincidence, even if we could find no clearer trace of connexion between the terms; but there seems ground for tracing such a connexion.

Follis was applied to money in two ways under the Byzantine Emperors. In its commoner application (φόλλις, φόλλη, etc.) it was a copper coin, of which 288 went to the gold solidus; and in this sense probably had no connection with the original Latin word. But *follis* was also used as a term for *a certain quantity of gold*, according to one authority the weight of 250 denarii, and was especially applied to a sort of tax imposed on the magnates by Constantine, which varied from two to eight pounds of gold, according to rank and income (see *Ducange, De Inferioris Ævi Numismatibus*, in Didot's ed. of the Dict., vii, pp. 194-5.)

If the denarii mentioned here were gold denarii or solidi, then we have the Byzantine Follis=250 *mithkáls*, just as the Balish of the Turks and Tartars in later days was=500 *mithkáls*. The probability that the latter word is as directly the representative of the former as *Dinar* and *Dirhem* are of the (gold) Denarius and Drachma seems very strong, and probably would not derive any additional support from the *cushions* with which both words have been connected.

Follis, again, in the sense of a copper coin, appears to be the same word as the Ar. *fals*, spoken of at pp. 115-116, found also formerly in Spain as the name of a small coin *folus*. And *follis* also in this sense, through the forms *Follaris* and *Folleralis* which are given in Ducange, is the origin of the *folleri* of Pegolotti (*supra*, p. 296).

notes are paid by the emperor.[1] The direction of the said public office is entrusted to one of the first *amírs* in China. If a person goes to the market to buy anything with a piece of silver, or even a piece of gold, they won't take it; nor will they pay any attention to him whatever until he has changed his money for *balisht;* and then he can buy whatever he likes.

All the inhabitants of China and Cathay in place of charcoal make use of a kind of earth which has the consistence and colour of clay in our country. It is transported on elephants, and cut into pieces of the ordinary size of lumps of charcoal with us, and these they burn. This earth burns just like charcoal, and gives even a more powerful heat. When it is reduced to cinders they knead these up into lumps with water, and when dry they serve to cook with a second time. And so they go on till the stuff is entirely consumed. It is with this earth that the Chinese make their porcelain vases, combining a certain stone with it, as I have already related.[2]

The people of China of all mankind have the greatest skill and taste in the arts. This is a fact generally admitted; it has been remarked in books by many authors, and has been much dwelt upon.[3] As regards painting, indeed, no nation, whether of Christians or others, can come up to the Chinese; their talent for this art is something quite extraordinary. I may mention among astonishing illustrations of this talent of theirs, what I have witnessed myself, viz., that whenever I have happened to visit one of their cities, and to return to it after awhile, I have always found my own likeness and

[1] See a different account at p. 246 *supra*, and in M. Polo, i, 26.

[2] The coal of China is noticed by Marco Polo (i, 31), and by Rashid (*supra* p. 261). According to Pauthier, its use was known before the Christian era.

[3] Already in the 10th century, it was remarked by an Arab author: "The Chinese may be counted among those of God's creatures to whom He hath granted, in the highest degree, skill of hand in drawing and the arts of manufacture" (*Reinaud*, Relation, etc., i, 77)

those of my companions painted on the walls, or exhibited in the bazars. On one occasion that I visited the Emperor's own city, in going to the imperial palace with my comrades I passed through the bazar of the painters; we were all dressed after the fashion of Irák. In the evening on leaving the palace I passed again through the same bazar, and there I saw my own portrait and the portraits of my companions painted on sheets of paper and exposed on the walls. We all stopped to examine the likenesses, and everybody found that of his neighbour to be excellent!

I was told that the Emperor had ordered the painters to take our likenesses, and that they had come to the palace for the purpose whilst we were there. They studied us and painted us without our knowing anything of the matter. In fact it is an established custom among the Chinese to take the portrait of any stranger that visits their country. Indeed the thing is carried so far that, if by chance a foreigner commits any action that obliges him to fly from China, they send his portrait into the outlying provinces to assist the search for him, and wherever the original of the portrait is discovered they apprehend him.[1]

Whenever a Chinese junk is about to undertake a voyage, it is the custom for the admiral of the port and his secretaries to go on board, and to take note of the number of soldiers, servants, and sailors who are embarked. The ship is not allowed to sail till this form has been complied with. And

[1] A travelling Jew, whom Wood met on his Oxus journey, told him that before strangers are permitted to enter Yarkand, "each individual is strictly examined; their personal appearance is noted down in writing, and if any are suspected, an artist is at hand to take their portraits" (p. 281). This is one of the many cases in which the Chinese have anticipated the devices of modern European civilisation. Just as this was written, I read in the *Times* of the arrest at New York of the murderer Müller by the police provided with his photographed despatched from England.

I here omit a not very relevant interpolation by Ibn Juzai, the Moorish editor.

when the junk returns to China the same officials again visit her, and compare the persons found on board with the numbers entered in their register. If anyone is missing the captain is responsible, and must furnish evidence of the death or desertion of the missing individual, or otherwise account for him. If he cannot, he is arrested and punished.

The captain is then obliged to give a detailed report of all the items of the junk's cargo, be their value great or small. Everybody then goes ashore, and the custom-house officers commence an inspection of what everybody has. If they find anything that has been kept back from their knowledge, the junk and all its cargo is forfeited.[1] This is a kind of oppression that I have seen in no country, infidel or Musulman, except in China. There *was*, indeed, something analogous to it in India; for there, if a man was found with anything smuggled he was condemned to pay eleven times the amount of the duty. The Sultan Mahomed abolished this tyrannical rule when he did away with the duties upon merchandise.

When a Musulman trader arrives in a Chinese city, he is allowed to choose whether he will take up his quarters with one of the merchants of his own faith settled in the country, or will go to an inn.[2] If he prefers to lodge with a merchant, they count all his money and confide it to the merchant of his choice; the latter then takes charge of all expenditure on account of the stranger's wants, but acts with perfect integrity. When the guest wishes to depart his money is again counted, and the host is obliged to make good any deficiencies.

If, however, the foreign trader prefers to go to an inn, his money is made over in deposit to the landlord, who then buys on his account whatever he may require, and if he wishes it procures a slave girl for him. He then establishes him in an apartment opening on the court of the inn, and

[1] This is no doubt the practice referred to by Odoric, *supra*, p. 74.

[2] The word is *Fanduk*. See note on *Fondacum*, *supra*, p. 355.

undertakes the provision of necessaries for both man and woman. I may observe here by the way that young slave girls are very cheap in China; and, indeed, all the Chinese will sell their sons as slaves equally with their daughters, nor is it considered any disgrace to do so. Only, those who are so purchased cannot be forced against their will to go abroad with the purchaser; neither, however, are they hindered if they choose to do so. And if the foreign trader wishes to marry in China he can very easily do so. But as for spending his money in profligate courses that he cannot be allowed to do! For the Chinese say: "We will not have it said in the Musulman countries that their people are stript of their property in China, and that ours is a country full of riotous living and harlotry."

China is the safest as well as the pleasantest of all the regions on the earth for a traveller. You may travel the whole nine months' journey to which the empire extends without the slightest cause for fear, even if you have treasure in your charge. For at every halting place there is a hostelry superintended by an officer who is posted there with a detachment of horse and foot. Every evening after sunset, or rather at nightfall, this officer visits the inn accompanied by his clerk; he takes down the name of every stranger who is going to pass the night there, seals the list, and then closes the inn door upon them. In the morning he comes again with his clerk, calls everybody by name, and marks them off one by one. He then despatches along with the travellers a person whose duty it is to escort them to the next station, and to bring back from the officer in charge there a written acknowledgment of the arrival of all; otherwise this person is held answerable. This is the practice at all the stations in China from Sín-ul-Sín to Khánbálik. In the inns the traveller finds all needful supplies, especially fowls and geese. But mutton is rare.

To return, however, to the particulars of my voyage, I

must tell you that the first Chinese city that I reached after crossing the sea was ZAITÚN.[1] Although *Zaitun* signifies *olives* in Arabic, there are no olives here any more than elsewhere in India and China; only that is the name of the place. It is a great city, superb indeed, and in it they make damasks of velvet as well as those of satin, which are called from the name of the city *Zaituníah*;[2] they are superior to the stuffs of Khansá and Khánbálik. The harbour of Zaitun is one of the greatest in the world,—I am wrong: it is *the* greatest! I have seen there about one hundred first-class junks together; as for small ones they were past counting. The harbour is formed by a great estuary which runs inland from the sea until it joins the Great River.

In this, as in every other city of China, every inhabitant has a garden, a field, and his house in the middle of it, exactly as we have it in the city of Segelmessa. It is for

[1] Were there doubt as to the identity of Zayton, Abulfeda's notice would settle it. For he tells us expressly that Zayton is otherwise called *Shanju* (Chin-cheu, the name by which Thsiuan-cheu was known to the early Portuguese traders, and by which it still appears in many maps).

[2] The words translated after Defrémery as *velvet* and *satin* are *kimkhwá* and *atalas*. There may be some doubt whether the former word should be rendered *velvet*, as it is the original of the European *cammocca* and the Indian *kinkhwáb*, of which the former seems to have been a damasked silk, and the latter *is* a silk damasked in gold (see p. 295 *supra*). The word *Atalas* seems to correspond closely to the Italian *raso*, as it signifies both a *close-shaven face* and a *satin texture*. It has been domesticated in Germany as the word for satin (*Atlass*), and is used also in old English travels. I have a strong suspicion that the term *Zaituniah* in the text is the origin of our word *satin*. The possible derivation from *seta* is obvious. But among the textures of the 15th century named in the book of G. Uzzano (*supra* p. 281) we find repeated mention of *Zetani, Zettani vellutati, Zettani broccati tra oro*, etc., which looks very like the transition from *Zaituni* to *satin*, whilst the ordinary word for silk is by the same author always spelt *seta*. The analogous derivation of so many other names of textures from the places whence they were imported may be quoted in support of this, e.g., *Muslin* (Mosul), *Damask* (Damascus), *Cambric* (Cambray), *Arras Diaper* (d'Yprès), *Calico* (Calicut); whilst we know that Genoese merchants traded at Zayton (*supra* p. 224). I see that *F. Johnson's Dict.* distinguishes in Persian between "*Kamkhá*, Damask silk of one colour", and "*Kimkhá*, Damask silk of different colours".

this reason that the cities of the Chinese are so extensive. The Mahomedans have a city by themselves.

The day after my arrival at Zaitun I saw there the nobleman who had been in India as ambassador with the presents for the Sultan, who had set out (from Dehli) in company with me, and whose junk had been wrecked. He saluted me, and gave information about me to the chief of the council, who in consequence assigned me quarters in a fine house. I then had visits from the Kazi of the Mahomedans, Tájuddín of Ardebil, a virtuous and generous person; from the Shaikh of Islam, Kamáluddín Abdallah of Ispahan, a very pious man; and from the chief merchants of the place. Among these I will mention only Sharífuddín of Tabriz, one of the merchants to whom I ran in debt from my first arrival in India, and the one of my creditors who acted most like a gentleman; he knew the whole Koran by heart, and was a great reader. As these merchants are settled there in a land of unbelievers, of course they are greatly delighted when they see a Musulman come to visit them, and when they can say, "Ah, here comes one from the lands of Islam!" and they give him alms of all that they have, according to the law, so that the traveller becomes quite rich like one of themselves. Among the eminent shaikhs at Zaitun was Burhanuddin of Kazerún, who had a hermitage outside of the town. It was to him that the merchants used to pay their offerings for the Shaikh Abu Ishak of Kazerun.[1]

When the chief of the council had learned all particulars about me, he wrote to the Kán, i.e. the Emperor, to inform him that I had arrived from the King of India. And I begged the chief that whilst we were awaiting the answer he would send some one to conduct me to Sin-ul-Sin, which these people call Sin-Kalán, which is also under the Kán, as I was desirous to visit that part of the country. He con-

[1] Kazerún, once a considerable place, now in decay, lies in a valley on the road from Bushire to Shiraz.

sented, and sent one of his people to accompany me. I travelled on the river in a vessel, which was much like the war galleys in our country, excepting that the sailors rowed standing and all together amidships, whilst the passengers kept forward and aft. For shade they spread an awning made of a plant of the country resembling flax, but not flax; it was, however, finer than hemp.[1]

We travelled on the river for twenty-seven days.[2] Every day a little before noon we used to moor at some village, where we bought what was needful, and performed our mid-day prayers.

In the evening we stopped at another village, and so on until we arrived at Sinkalan, which is the city of Sin-ul-Sin. Porcelain is made there, just as at Zaitun, and it is there also that the river called *Ab-i-Haiyáh* (or water-of-life) discharges itself into the sea, at a place which they call the confluence of the seas. Sin-ul-Sin is one of the greatest of cities, and one of those that has the finest of bazars. One of the largest of these is the porcelain bazar, and from it china-ware is exported to the other cities of China, to India, and to Yemen.

In the middle of the city you see a superb temple with nine gates; inside of each there is a portico with terraces where the inmates of the building seat themselves. Between the second and third gates there is a place with rooms for occupation by the blind, the infirm or the crippled. These

[1] Perhaps grass-cloth.

[2] It is very possible that there may be continuous inland navigation from Zayton to Canton, parallel to the coast, but I cannot ascertain more than that there is such from Fucheu, and I presume from Thsiuan-cheu or Zayton to Chang-cheu. If this does not extend further, his journey "by the river" must have been up the Min river; then, after crossing the mountains into Kiangsi, re-embarking and following the Kankiang up to the Meiling Pass, and so across that to the Pe-Kiang, leading to Canton; the latter part of the route being that followed by Macartney and Amherst on their return journies, as well as by the authors of many other published narratives.

On Sinkalan or Sin-ul-Sin and its identity with Canton, see *supra*, pp. 105, 269, 373, and 417.

receive food and clothing from pious foundations attached to the temple. Between the other gates there are similar establishments; there is to be seen (for instance) a hospital for the sick, a kitchen for dressing their food, quarters for the physicians, and others for the servants. I was assured that old folks who had not strength to work for a livelihood were maintained and clothed there; and that a like provision was made for destitute widows and orphans. This temple was built by a King of China, who bequeathed this city and the villages and gardens attached, as a pious endowment for this establishment. His portrait is to be seen in the temple, and the Chinese go and worship it.[1]

In one of the quarters of this great city is the city of the Mahomedans, where they have their cathedral mosque, convent, and bazar; they have also a Kazi and a Shaikh, for in each of the cities of China you find always a Shaikh of Islam, who decides finally every matter concerning Mahomedans, as well as a Kazi to administer justice. I took up my quarters with Auhaduddin of Sinjár, one of the worthiest, as he is one of the richest, of men. My stay with him lasted fourteen days, during which presents from the kazi and the other Mahomedans flowed in upon me incessantly. Every day they used to have a fresh entertainment, to which they went in pretty little boats of some ten cubits in length, with people on board to sing.

Beyond this city of Sin-ul-Sin there are no other cities, whether of infidels or Musulmans. Between it and the

[1] Canton has undergone many changes, and no temple now appears to correspond precisely with that described. It was however perhaps that called *Kwang-heaou-tze* (Temple of Glory and Filial Duty), near what is now the N.W. corner of the city. It was built about A.D. 250, and has been often restored. It possesses about 3,500 acres of land for the support of its inmates. There is a retreat for poor aged infirm and blind people called Yangtséquen, which stands outside the walls east of the city, but neither this nor the other charitable institutions appear to be of old date, nor do there seem to be any such now attached to the temples (see *Chinese Repository*, vol. ii, p. 145 *seq.*).

Rampart, or Great Wall of Gog and Magog, there is a space of sixty days' journey as I was told. This territory is occupied by wandering tribes of heathen, who eat such people as they can catch, and for this reason no one enters their country or attempts to travel there. I saw nobody in this city who had been to the Great Wall, or who knew anybody who had been there.[1]

During my stay at Sinkalan I heard that there was at that city a very aged shaikh, indeed that he had passed his two hundredth year;[2] that he had neither ate nor drank nor had anything to say to women, although his vigour was intact; and that he dwelt in a cave outside the town, where he gave himself up to devotion. So I went to his grotto, and there I saw him at the door. He was very thin; of a deep red or copper-tint, much marked with the traces of an ascetic life, and had no beard. After I had saluted him he took my hand,

[1] This is an instance of Ibn Batuta's loose notions of geography. He inquires for the Wall of China from his coreligionists at the wrong extremity of the empire, as if (on a smaller scale) a foreigner should ask the French Consul at Cork for particulars of the Wall of Antoninus. Had he inquired at Khanbalik (if he really was there) he might have received more information.

The Rampart of Gog and Magog (*Yájúj and Májúj*) was believed to have been erected by Alexander the Great to shut up the fierce nations of the north and bar their irruptions into civilized southern lands. It is generally referred to Darband on the Caspian, but naturally came to be confounded with the Wall of China. Edrisi (ii, 416) gives an account of the mission sent by the Khalif Wathek Billah to explore the Rampart of Gog and Magog. See the Reduction of the Catalan Map, N.E. corner.

[2] Supernatural longevity is a common attribute of Mahomedan saints. Ibn Batuta himself introduces us to several others whose age exceeded one hundred and fifty years, besides a certain *Atha Awalía* in the Hindu Kush who claimed three hundred and fifty years, but regarding whom the traveller had his doubts. Shah Madar, one of the most eminent Indian saints, is said to have been born at Aleppo in 1050-51, and to have died at Makanpur near Ferozabad, Agra, where he was buried, in 1433, having had 1442 sons, spiritual it may be presumed! (*Garcin de Tassy, Particularités de la Rel. Mus. dans l'Inde*, p. 55). And John Schiltberger tells us of a saint at Hore in Horassan (Herat in Khorasan) whom he saw there in the days of Timur, whose name was Phiradam Schyech, and who was three hundred and fifty years old (*Reisen*, p. 101).

blew on it, and said to the interpreter: "This man belongs to one extremity of the world, as we belong to the other." Then he said to me: "Thou hast witnessed a miracle. Dost thou call to mind the day of thy visit to the island where there was a temple, and the man seated among the idols who gave thee ten pieces of gold?" "Yes, in sooth," answered I. He rejoined "I was that man".[1] I kissed his hand; the shaikh seemed a while lost in thought, then entered his cave, and did not come back to us. One would have said that he regretted the words that he had spoken. We were rash enough to enter the grotto in order to surprise him, but we did not find him. We saw one of his comrades, however, who had in his hand some paper bank-notes, and who said to us: "Take this for your entertainment, and begone." We answered: "But we wish to wait for the shaikh." He answered: "If you were to wait ten years you would not see him. For 'tis his way never to let himself be seen by a person who has learned one of his secrets." He added: "Think not that he is absent; he is here present with you!"

Greatly astonished at all this I departed. On telling my story to the Kazi, the Shaikh of Islam and (my host) Auhaduddin of Sinjar, they observed: "This is his way with strangers who visit him; nobody ever knows what religion he professes. But the man whom you took for one of his comrades was the shaikh himself." They then informed me that this personage had quitted the country for about fifty years and had returned only a year previously. The king,[2] the generals, and other chiefs went to see him, and made him presents in proportion to their rank; whilst every day the fakirs and poor monks went to see him, and received from him gifts in proportion to the deserts of each,

[1] This refers to a mysterious incident that occurred to Ibn Batuta at a small island on the western coast of India just before he got to Hunawar (see *supra*, p. 416).

[2] *I.e.* the viceroy.

although his cave contained absolutely nothing. They told me also that this personage sometimes related histories of past times; he would speak, for example, of the prophet (upon whom be peace!), and would say with reference to him: "If I had but been with him, I would have helped him." He would speak also with veneration of the two Khalifs, 'Omar son of Alkhattab and 'Ali son of Abu Tálib, and would praise them highly. But, on the other hand, he would curse Yazid the son of Mu'áwiyah, and would denounce Mu'áwiyah himself.[1] Many other things were told me about this shaikh by the persons named above.

Auhaduddin of Sinjar told me the following story about him: "I went once (said he) to see the shaikh in his cave. He took hold of my hand, and all at once I imagined myself to be in a great palace where this shaikh was seated on a throne. Methought he had a crown on his head; on each side of him were beautiful handmaidens; and there were canals about into which fruit was constantly dropping. I imagined that I took up an apple to eat it, and straightway as I did so I found myself again in the grotto with the shaikh before me, laughing and ridiculing me. I had a bad illness which lasted several months; and I never would go again to see that strange being."[2]

The people of the country believe the shaikh to be a Musulman, but nobody ever saw him say his prayers. As regards abstinence from food, again, he may be said to fast perpetually. The kazi told me: "One day I spoke to him about prayer, and his answer was: 'Thinkest thou that thou knowest, thou! what *I* do? In truth, I trow my prayer is

[1] Omar and Ali, the second and fourth successors of Mahomed. Yazid Bin Mu'áwiyah, the second Khalif of the Ommiades, who caused the death of Ali on the plain of Kerbela, is always mentioned with a curse by the Shias (*D'Herbelot*).

[2] A capital case of mesmeric influence in the Middle Ages.

another matter from thine!'" Everything about this man was singular.[1]

The day after my visit to the shaikh I set out on my return to the city of Zaitun, and some days after my arrival there an order was received from the Kán that I was to proceed to the capital, with arrangements for my honourable treatment and for defraying my expenses. He left me free to go by land or by water as I chose; so I preferred going by the river.

They fitted up a very nice boat for me, such as is used for the transport of generals; the Amir sent some of his suite to accompany me, and furnished provisions in abundance; quantities also were sent by the kazi and the Mahomedan merchants. We travelled as the guests of the sultan, dining at one village, and supping at another; and after a passage of ten days we arrived at KANJANFÚ. This is a large and beautiful city surrounded by gardens, in an immense plain. One would say it was the plain of Damascus![2]

On my arrival the kazi, the shaikh of Islam, and the merchants came out to receive me, with flags and a band of musicians, with drums, trumpets, and horns. They brought horses for us, which we mounted, whilst they all went on foot before us except the kazi and the shaikh, who rode with us. The governor of the city also came out with his retinue to meet us, for a guest of the emperor's is highly honoured among those people. And so we entered Kan-

[1] The holy man in Egypt, described by Lady Duff Gordon (*supra* p. 464), "never prays, never washes, he does not keep Ramadán, and yet he is a saint."

[2] This I have little doubt is Kianchangfu in Kiangsi, to which a water communication conducts all the way from Fucheu, and probably from Zayton, excepting for a space of 190 li (some fifty or sixty miles) in the passage of the mountains between Thsungnanghien in Fokien, and Yanchanhien in Kiangsi (*Klap. Mem. Rel. à l'Asie*, vol. iii.). Kianchangfu is described by Martini as a handsome and celebrated city, with a lake inside the walls and another outside. It was noted in his time for the excellence of its rice-wine.

janfú. This city has four walls. Between the first and the second wall live the slaves of the sultan, those who guard the city by day as well as those who guard it by night. These last are called *baswánán*. Between the second and third wall are the cavalry, and the amir who commands in the city. Inside the third wall are the Mahomedans, so it was here that we dismounted at the house of their shaikh, Zahír-uddin ul Kurláni. The Chinese lived inside the fourth wall, which incloses the biggest of the four towns. The distance between one gate and the next in this immense city of Kanjanfu is three miles and a quarter. Every inhabitant, as we have described before, has his garden and fields about his house.[1]

One day when I was in the house of Zahír-uddin ul Kurláni there arrived a great boat, which was stated to be that of one of the most highly respected doctors of the law among the Musulmans of those parts. They asked leave to introduce this personage to me, and accordingly he was announced as "Our Master Kiwámuddin the Ceutan."[2] I was surprised at the name; and when he had entered, and after exchanging the usual salutations we had begun to converse together, it struck me that I knew the man. So I began to look at him earnestly, and he said, "You look as if you knew me." "From what country are you," I asked. "From Ceuta." "And I am from Tangier!" So he recommenced his salutations, moved to tears at the meeting, till I caught the infection myself. I then asked him "Have you ever been in India?" "Yes," he said; "I have been at Dehli, the capital." When he said that I recollected about him, and said, "Surely you are Ul-Bushri?" "Yes, I am." He had come to Dehli with his maternal uncle, Abú'l Kásim, of Murcia, being then quite young and beardless, but an acomplished student, knowing the *Muwattah*

[1] This must at all times have been a great exaggeration.

[2] "Ul-Sabtí."

by heart.[1] I had told the Sultan of India about him, and he had given him 3,000 dinars, and desired to keep him at Dehli. He refused to stay, however, for he was bent on going to China, and in that country he had acquired much reputation and a great deal of wealth. He told me that he had some fifty male slaves, and as many female: and indeed he gave me two of each, with many other presents. Some years later I met this man's brother in Negroland. What an enormous distance lay between those two![2]

I stayed fifteen days at Kanjanfu, and then continued my journey. China is a beautiful country, but it afforded me no pleasure. On the contrary, my spirit was sorely troubled within me whilst I was there, to see how Paganism had the upper hand. I never could leave my quarters without witnessing many things of a sinful kind; and that distressed me so much that I generally kept within doors, and only went out when it was absolutely necessary. And during my whole stay in China I always felt in meeting Musulmans just as if I had fallen in with my own kith and kin. The jurist Ul Bushri carried his kindness towards me so far that he escorted me on my journey for four days until my arrival at BAIWAM KUTLÚ.[3] This was a small city inhabited by Chi-

[1] The *Muwattah* (the name signifies, according to Defrémery, "Appropriated," but D'Herbelot translates it "Footstool") was a book on the traditions, held in great respect by the Mahomedans, who called it *Mubárak*, or Blessed. It was composed by the Imám Málik Bin Ans, one of the four chiefs of Orthodox sects. (*D'Herbelot*).

[2] This meeting in the heart of China of the two Moors from the adjoining towns of Tangier and Ceuta has a parallel in that famous, but I fear mythical story of the capture of the Grand Vizier on the Black Sea by Marshal Keith, then in the Russian service. The venerable Turk's look of recognition drew from the Marshal the same question that Ul Bushri addressed to Ibn Batuta, and the answer came forth in broad Fifeshire dialect—"Eh man! aye, I mind you weel, for my father was the bellman of Kirkaldy!"

[3] The name looks Turkish rather than Chinese, and may be connected with that of *Baiam*, the great general and minister of Kublai. It is possible, however, that the Baiwam may represent *Poyang*, the old name of Yao-cheu, on the Poyang Lake, which I suppose had its name from this

nese traders and soldiers. There were but four houses of Musulmans there, and the owners were all disciples of the jurist above mentioned. We took up our quarters with one of them, and stayed three days. I then bade adieu to the doctor, and proceeded on my journey.

As usual, I travelled on the river, dining at one village, supping at another, till after a voyage of seventeen days we arrived at the city of KHANSÁ.[1] (The name of this city is nearly the same as that of Khansá, the poetess,[2] but I don't know whether the name be actually Arabic, or has only an accidental resemblance to it.) This city is the greatest I have ever seen on the surface of the earth. It is three days' journey in length, so that a traveller passing through the city has to make his marches and his halts! According to what we have said before of the arrangement followed in the cities of China, every one in Khansá is provided with his house and garden.[3] The city is divided into six towns, as I shall explain presently.

When we arrived, there came out to meet us the Kazi of Khansá, by name Afkharuddin, the Shaikh of Islam, and the descendants of 'Othmán Bin Affán the Egyptian, who are the most prominent Mahomedans at Khansá. They carried a white flag, with drums, trumpets, and horns. The commandant of the city also came out to meet me with his escort. And so we entered the city.

city (*Martini* in *Thevenot*, p. 109). The position would be very appropriate.

[1] Cansay of Odoric, &c., Kingsze or Hangcheufu; see pp. 113, 259, 354, etc., *supra*.

[2] All I can tell of this lady is from the following extract:—"Al-Chansa, the most celebrated Arabic poetess, shines exclusively in elegiac poetry. Her laments over her two murdered brothers, Muawiya and Sachr, are the most pathetic, tender, and passionate, yet no translation could convey the fulness of their beauty. To be appreciated they must be read in the majestic, soft, sonorous words of the original." (*Saturday Review*, June 17, 1865, p. 740).

[3] This agrees but ill with Odoric's "*non est spansa terræ quæ non habitatur bene.*" There are several very questionable statements in Ibn Batuta's account of the great city.

It is subdivided into six towns, each of which has a separate enclosure, whilst one great wall surrounds the whole. In the first city was posted the garrison of the city, with its commandant. I was told by the Kazi and others that there were 12,000 soldiers on the rolls. We passed the night at the commandant's house. The next day we entered the second city by a gate called the Jews' Gate. This town was inhabited by Jews, by Christians, and by those Turks who worship the sun; they are very numerous. The Amír of this town is a Chinese, and we passed the second night in his house. The third day we made our entrance into the third city, and this is occupied by the Mahomedans. It is a fine town, with the bazaars arranged as in Musulman countries, and with mosques and muezzins. We heard these last calling the Faithful to prayer as we entered the city. Here we were lodged in the house of the children of Othmán Bin Affan, the Egyptian. This Othman was a merchant of great eminence, who took a liking to this town, and established himself in it; indeed it is named after him *Al 'Othmániyah.* He bequeathed to his posterity in this city the dignity and consideration which he had himself enjoyed; his sons follow their father in their beneficence to religious mendicants, and in affording relief to the poor. They have a convent called also Al 'Othmániyah, which is a handsome edifice, endowed with many pious bequests, and is occupied by a fraternity of Súfís. It was the same Othmán who built the Jáma' Masjid (cathedral mosque) in this city, and he has bequeathed to it (as well as to the convent) considerable sums to form a foundation for pious uses.

The Musulmans in this city are very numerous. We remained with them fifteen days, and every day and every night I was present at some new entertainment. The splendour of their banquets never flagged, and every day they took me about the city on horseback for my diversion. One day that they were riding with me we went into the

fourth city, where the seat of the government is, and also the palace of the great Amír Kurtai. When we had passed the gate of the town my companions left me, and I was received by the Wazír, who conducted me to the palace of the great Amír Kurtai. I have already related how this latter took from me the pelisse which had been given me by the Friend of God, Jalaluddin of Shíráz. This fourth town is intended solely for the dwellings of the emperor's officers and slaves; it is the finest of all the six towns, and is traversed by three streams of water. One of these is a canal from the great river, and by it the supplies of food and of stones for burning are brought in small boats; there are also pleasure boats to be had upon it. The citadel is in the middle of the town; it is of immense extent, and in the centre of it is the palace of the government. The citadel surrounds this on all sides, and is provided with covered sheds, where artizans are seen employed in making magnificent dresses, arms, and engines of war. The Amír Kurtai told me that there were 1,600 master workmen, each of whom had under his direction three or four apprentices. All are the Kán's slaves; they are chained, and live outside the fortress. They are allowed to frequent the bazars of the town, but not to go beyond the gate. The Amír musters them daily, and if any one is missing their chief is responsible. It is customary to remove their fetters after ten years' service, and they have then the option of either continuing to serve without fetters or of going where they will, provided they do not pass beyond the frontier of the Kán's territory. At the age of fifty they are excused all further work, and are maintained at the cost of the State. But indeed in any case every one, or nearly every one, in China, who has reached that age, may obtain his maintenance at the public expense.[1] He who has reached the age of sixty is regarded by the Chinese as a child, and is no longer subject to the penalties of the law. Old

[1] See above, p. 240, and M. Polo, i, 39.

men are treated with great respect in that country, and are always addressed as *Athá* or "Father."[1]

The Amír Kurtai is the greatest lord in China.[2] He offered us hospitality in his palace, and gave an entertainment such as those people call *Thuwai*,[3] at which the dignitaries of the city were present. He had got Mahomedan cooks to kill the cattle and cook the dishes for us, and this lord, great as he was, carved the meats and helped us with his own hands! We were his guests for three days, and one day he sent his son to escort us in a trip on the canal. We got into a boat like a fire-ship,[4] whilst the young lord got into another, taking singers and musicians with him. The singers sang songs in Chinese, Arabic, and Persian. The lord's son was a great admirer of the Persian songs, and there was one of these sung by them which he caused to be repeated several times, so that I got it by heart from their singing. This song had a pretty cadence in it, and thus it went:—

"Tá dil ba mihnat dádím,
Dar bahri-i fikr uftádím,
Chún dar namáz istádím,
Kawí bamihráb anderím."[5]

[1] See above, p. 118.

[2] I cannot identify this Prince in the translated Chinese histories. *Kurtai* is however a genuine Tartar name, and is found as the name of one of the Mongol generals in the preceding century (*D'Ohsson*, ii, 260).

[3] *Thoï* or *Tuwi* is a word believed to be of Turki origin, used frequently by Rashid and other medieval Persian writers for a *feast* or *fête* (see *Quatremère's Rashideddin*, pp. 139-40, 164, 216, 414; see also a previous passage of *Ibn Batuta*, iii, 40).

[4] *Harráqah.* "Navis incendiaria aut missilibus pyriis instructa" (*Freytag*). I do not understand what is meant by the comparison. It cannot refer to the blaze of light, because this was in the daytime. But perhaps Ibn Batuta applies the word only in the sense of some kind of state barge, for he uses the same title for the boat in which he saw the Il-Khan Abu Said with his Wazir taking an airing on the Tigris at Baghdad (ii, 116).

[5] The "pretty cadence" is precisely that of—

"We wont go home till morning,
We wont go home till morning,

Crowds of people in boats were gathered on the canal. The sails were of all bright colours, the people carried parasols of silk, and the boats themselves were gorgeously painted. They skirmished with one another, and pelted each other with oranges and lemons. In the evening we went back to pass the night at the Amír's palace, where the musicians came again and sang very fine songs.

That same night a juggler, who was one of the Kán's slaves, made his appearance, and the Amír said to him, "Come and show us some of your marvels." Upon this he took a wooden ball, with several holes in it through which long thongs were passed, and (laying hold of one of these) slung it into the air. It went so high that we lost sight of it altogether. (It was the hottest season of the year, and we were outside in the middle of the palace court.) There now remained only a little of the end of a thong in the conjuror's hand, and he desired one of the boys who assisted him to lay hold of it and mount. He did so, climbing by the thong, and we lost sight of him also! The conjuror then called to him three times, but getting no answer he snatched up a knife, as if in a great rage, laid hold of the thong, and disappeared also! Bye and bye he threw down one of the boy's hands, then a foot, then the other hand and the other foot, then the trunk, and last of all the head! Then he came down himself, all puffing and panting, and with his clothes all bloody, kissed the ground before the Amír, and said something to him in Chinese. The Amír gave some order in reply, and our friend then took the lad's limbs, laid them together in their places, and gave a kick, when, presto!

We wont go home till morning,
Till daylight doth appear!"

It may be somewhat freely rendered—

"My heart given up to emotions,
Was o'erwhelmed in waves like the ocean's;
But betaking me to my devotions,
My troubles were gone from me!"

there was the boy, who got up and stood before us![1] All this astonished me beyond measure, and I had an attack of palpitation like that which overcame me once before in the presence of the Sultan of India, when he showed me something of the same kind. They gave me a cordial, however, which cured the attack.[2] The Kazi Afkharuddin was next to me, and quoth he, "Walláh! 'tis my opinion there has been neither going up nor coming down, neither marring nor mending; 'tis all hocus pocus!"

The next day we entered the gate of the fifth city, which is the biggest of all the six, and is inhabited by the Chinese. It has splendid bazars and capital artificers, and it is there that they make the textures called *khansáwiyah*. Among the fine things made here also are the plates and dishes called *Dast*. They are composed of cane, the fibres of

[1] In a modern Indian version of this trick, which I lately heard described by an eye-witness, the boy was covered with a basket and desired to descend into the earth. On his refusal, the conjuror rushed at the basket and pierced it violently in all directions with a spear, whilst blood flowed from under it, and the boy's dying groans were heard. On removing the basket there was of course nothing to be seen, and presently the boy made his appearance running from the gate of the *compound* in which the performance took place. The vanishing *upwards* certainly renders Ibn Batuta's story much more wonderful. A like feature is found in some extraordinary Indian conjurors' tricks described by the Emperor Jihanghir in his memoirs.

[2] On the occasion referred to (iv, 39), Ibn Batuta, when visiting Mahomed Tughlak, finds two Jogis in the king's apartments, one of whom whilst sitting cross-legged rises in the air. His comrade then pulls out a shoe and raps on the ground with it. The shoe immediately mounts in the air to the neck of the elevated Jogi, and begins tapping him on the nape of the neck; as it taps he gradually subsides to the ground. The traveller, unused to such operations of "levitation" and spirit-rapping, faints away in the king's presence.

Ricold Montecroce ascribes such practices to the *Boxitæ* (*Bakshis* or Lamas). One of them was said to fly. The fact was, says Ricold, that he did not fly, but he used to skim the ground without touching it, and when he seemed to be sitting down he was sitting upon nothing! (p. 117.)

A Brahman at Madras some forty or fifty years ago exhibited himself sitting in the air. In his case, I think, mechanical aids were discovered, but I cannot refer to the particulars.

which are platted together in a wonderful manner, and then covered with a brilliant coat of red lacker. Ten of these plates go to a set, one fitting inside the other, and so fine are they that when you see them you would take the whole set for but one plate. A cover then goes over the whole. There are also great dishes or trays made with the same cane-work. Some of the excellent properties of such dishes are these: they don't break when they tumble, and you can put hot things into them without spoiling or in the least affecting their colour. These plates and dishes are exported from China to India, Khorasan, and other countries.[1]

We passed a night in the fifth town as the guests of the commandant, and the next day we proceeded to enter the sixth by a gate called that of the *kishtiwánán*, or boatmen. This town is inhabited only by seamen, fishermen, caulkers, carpenters (these last they call *dúdkárán*), by the *sipahis*, i. e. the archers, and by the *piyádahs*, i. e. the foot soldiers.[2] All of them are the emperor's slaves; no other class live with them, and their numbers are very great. The town of which we speak is situated on the banks of the Great River, and we stayed the night there, enjoying the hospitality of the commandant. The Amír Kurtai had caused a boat to be fitted up for us, and equipped with everything needful in the way of provisions and otherwise. He also sent some of his people to accompany us, in order that we might be received everywhere as the emperor's guests, and so we quitted this

[1] Lackered ware is still made in Burma quite in the way that the traveller describes, and so it is doubtless in China. Indeed the cane dishes are mentioned by the Archbishop of Soltania (*supra*, p. 246).

[2] Here as usual with Ibn Batuta one would suppose that these words were the vernacular Chinese instead of being Persian. If we could depend upon him thoroughly in such matters, the use of these words would indicate that Persian was the language of the Mahomedan communities in China. *Dúdkárán* is for *Durúdgarán*, carpenters. The explanations "archers" and "footsoldiers" (*ul-rajál*) are Ibn Batuta's own, and the use of the latter word is perhaps unfavourable to the translation at p. 474.

city, the province under which is the last of those of China, and proceeded to enter CATHAY.[1]

Cathay is the best cultivated land in the world; in the whole country you will not find a bit of ground lying fallow. The reason is, that if a piece of ground be left uncultivated, they still oblige the people on it, or if there be none the people nearest to it, to pay the land-tax. Gardens, villages, and cultivated fields line the two banks of the river in uninterrupted succession from the city of Khansá to the city of KHÁNBÁLIK, a space of sixty-four days' journey.

In those tracts you find no Musulmans, unless as mere passengers, for the localities are not adapted for them to fix themselves in, and you find no regular cities, but only villages, and plains covered with corn, fruit trees, and sugar cane. I do not know in the whole world a region to be compared to this, except that space of four days' march between Anbár and 'Anah. Every evening we landed at a different village, and were hospitably received.[2]

And thus at last we arrived at Khánbálik, also called KHÁNIKÚ.[3] It is the capital of the Kán or great Emperor, who rules over China and Cathay. We moored, according to the custom of these people, ten miles short of Khanbalik, and they sent a report of our arrival to the admirals, who gave

[1] *Khithá.* Here Ibn Batuta makes China (*Sín*) correspond to *Mangi*, or the Sung empire, first reduced under the Mongols by Kublai. In other passages he appears to use Sín for the whole empire, as (in iii, 17) where he speaks of Almálik as situated at the extremity of Mawarulnahr, near the place where China (*Sín*) begins.

[2] *Anbar*, on the Euphrates abreast of Baghdad; *Anah*, about 120 miles higher up. The alleged absence of cities on the banks of the canal is so contrary to fact, that one's doubts arise whether Ibn Batuta could have travelled beyond Hangcheu.

[3] Of this name *Khaniku* I can make nothing. *Khánkú* indeed appears in Abulfeda several times as the alternative name of Khansá, but is in that case an evident mistake (one dot too many), for the *Khánfu* of Abu Said in Reinaud's *Relations*, the Ganpu of Marco, the Kánphú of the Chinese, which was the seaport of Khansa or Hangcheu, and stood upon the estuary of the Che Kiang, about twelve leagues from the great city (*Klapr. Mem.* ii, 200).

us permission to enter the port, and this we did. At last we landed at the city, which is one of the greatest in the world, and differs from all the other cities of China in having no gardens inside the walls; they are all outside, as in other countries. The city or quarter in which the emperor resides stands in the middle like a citadel, as we shall tell hereafter. I took up my quarters with the shaikh Burhánuddin of Sagharj, the individual to whom the Sultan of India sent 40,000 dinars, with an invitation to go to his dominions. He took the money indeed, and paid his debts with it, but declined to go the King of Dehli, and directed his course towards China. The Kán put him at the head of all the Musulmans in his empire, with the title of *Sadr-ul-Jihán*, or Chief of the World.[1]

The word *Kán* (*Qán*) among the Chinese is a generic term for any one governing the empire; in fact, for the kings of their country, just as the lords of the Lúr country are called *Atábek*. The proper name of this sultan is *Páshái*, and there is not among the infidels on the whole face of the earth so great an empire as his.[2]

[1] As Ibn Batuta relates elsewhere (iii, 255) this celebrated preacher gave as his reason for refusing to visit India: "I will not go to the court of a king who makes philosophers stand in his presence." Curiously enough the story is also told in the *Masálak ul Absár*, of which extracts have been translated by Quatremère, According to that work, Burhánuddin of Sagharj was Shaikh of Samarkand, and Sultan Mahomed of Dehli, hearing much of his fame, sent him 40,000 *tankahs* (we here see corroboration that the Indian *dinar* of Ibn Batuta is the *Tankah* of other authors) with an invitation to his court. The messenger on his arrival at Samarkand found the Shaikh had set out for China, so he gave the money to a young slave-girl of his, desiring her to let her master know that his presence was vehemently desired by the King of Dehli (*Notices et Extraits*, xiii, 196).

[2] *Atabek* was the title borne by various powerful Amírs at the court of the Seljucidæ, which they retained after becoming independent in different provinces of Irak, Azarbijan, etc. The title is said to mean "The Prince's Father." It was also held at the Court of Dehli under the translated form *Khan Baba* (*Elph. Hist. of India*, ii, 216). Ibn Batuta had visited one of the Atabeks, Afrasiab, in Luristan, on his way from Baghdad to Ispahan. By *Páshái*, I suspect he only means the Persian *Pádshih*.

The palace of the monarch is situated in the middle of the city appropriated to his residence. It is almost entirely constructed of carved wood, and is admirably laid out. It has seven gates. At the first gate sits the *Kotwál*, who is the chief of the porters, whilst elevated platforms right and left of the gate are occupied by the pages called *Pardadáriyah* (curtain-keepers), who are the warders of the palace gates. These were 500 in number, and I was told that they used to be 1,000. At the second gate are stationed the *Sipáhis*, or archers, to the number of 500; and at the third gate are the *Nizahdars*, or spearmen, also 500 in number. At the fourth gate are the *Teghdáriyah* (sabre-men) men with sabre and shield. At the fifth gate are the offices of the ministerial departments, and these are furnished with numerous platforms.[1] On the principal one of these sits the wazir, mounted on an enormous sofa, and this is called the *Masnad*. Before the wazir is a great writing table of gold. Opposite is the platform of the private secretary; to the right of it is that of the secretaries for despatches, and to the right of the wazir is that of the clerks of the finances.

These four platforms have four others facing them. One is called the office of control; the second is that of the office of *Mustakhraj*, or 'Produce of Extortion,' the chief of which is one of the principal grandees. They call *mustakhraj* the balances due by collectors and other officials, and by the amírs from the claims upon their fiefs. The third is the office of appeals for redress, where one of the great officers of state sits, assisted by secretaries and counsel learned in the law. Any one who has been the victim of injustice ad-

The real name of the emperor at this time was Togon Timur, surnamed Ukhagatu, called by the Chinese Shunti.

[1] The word is *Saqífah*, which is defined in the dictionary *Locus discubitorius ad instar latioris scamni constructus ante ædes*, and translated in the French *Estrade*. I suppose it here to represent an open elevated shed or pavilion, such as appears to be much affected in the courts of Chinese and Indo-Chinese palaces.

dresses himself to them for aid and protection. The fourth is the office of the posts, and there the head of the news department has his seat.[1]

At the sixth gate of the palace is stationed the king's body guard, with its chief commandant. The eunuchs are at the seventh gate. They have three platforms, the first of which is for the Abyssinians, the second for the Hindus, the third for the Chinese. Each of these three classes has a chief, who is a Chinese.

When we arrived at the capital Khanbalik, we found that the Kán was absent, for he had gone forth to fight Firuz, the son of his uncle, who had raised a revolt against him in the territory of KARAKORAM and BISHBÁLIGH, in Cathay.[2] To reach those places from the capital there is a distance to be passed of three months' march from the capital through a cultivated country. I was informed by the Sadr-ul-Jihán, Burhánuddin of Sagharj, that when the Kán assembled his troops, and called the array of his forces together, there were with him one hundred divisions of horse, each composed of 10,000 men, the chief of whom was called *Amír Túmán* or lord of ten thousand.[3] Besides these the immediate followers of the sultan and his household furnished 50,000 more cavalry. The infantry consisted of 500,000 men. When the emperor had marched, most of the amírs

[1] In the whole of this description, with its Persian technicalities, it is pretty clear that Ibn Batuta is drawing either on his imagination, or (more probably) on his recollections of the Court of Dehli, and hence we have the strongest ground for suspecting that he never entered the palace of Peking, if indeed he ever saw that city at all. In iii, 295, he has told us of an office at the *Court of Dehli* which bore the name of *Mustakhraj*, the business of which was to extort unpaid balances by bastinado and other tortures.

[2] *Karakoram*, the chief place successively of the Khans of Kerait, and of the Mongol Káns till Kublai established his residence in China. *Bishbálik* (i.e. "Pentapolis") lay between Karakoram and Almalik; and had anciently been the chief seat of the Uigur nation. It is now, according to Klaproth, represented by Urumtsi.

[3] *Tuman*. See *supra*, p. 117.

revolted, and agreed to depose him, for he had violated the laws of the *Yasák*, that is to say, of the code established by their ancestor Tankíz Khan, who ravaged the lands of Islam.[1] They deserted to the camp of the emperor's cousin who was in rebellion, and wrote to the Kán to abdicate and be content to retain the city of Khansá for his apanage. The Kán refused, engaged them in battle, and was defeated and slain.[2]

This news was received a few days after our arrival at the capital. The city upon this was decked out, and the people went about beating drums and blowing trumpets and horns, and gave themselves over to games and amusements for a whole month. The Kán's body was then brought in with those of about a hundred more of his cousins, kinsfolk, and favourites who had fallen. After digging for the Kán a great *Náwús* or crypt,[3] they spread it with splendid carpets, and laid therein the Kán with his arms. They put in also the whole of the gold and silver plate belonging to the palace, with four of the Kán's young slave girls, and six of his chief pages holding in their hands vessels full of drink. They then built up the door of the crypt and piled earth on the top of it till it was like a high hill. After this they brought

[1] The *Yasa* or ordinances which Chinghiz laid down for the guidance of his successors may be seen more or less in Petis de la Croix, D'Ohsson, Deguignes, in V. Hammer's Golden Horde, and in *Univers Pittoresque* (Tartarie, p. 313). The word is said to mean any kind of ordinance or regulation. Baber tells us in his Autobiography: "My forefathers and family had always sacredly observed the Rules of Chenghiz. In their parties, in their courts, their festivals, and their entertainments, in their sitting down, and in their rising up, they never acted contrary to the Institutions of Chenghiz" (p. 202).

[2] The Emperor Togontimur or Shunti, who was on the throne at the time of Ibn Batuta's visit (1347), had succeeded in 1333, and continued to reign till his expulsion by the Chinese and the fall of his dynasty in 1368. Nor can I find in Deguignes or De Mailla the least indication of any circumstance occurring about this time that could have been made the foundation of such a story.

[3] Defrémery says from the Ar. *wáṣ*. Meninski gives *Náwús* (or *Náús*). "Cœmeterium, vel delubrum magorum."

four horses and made them run races round the emperor's sepulchre until they could not stir a foot; they next set up close to it a great mast, to which they suspended those horses after driving a wooden stake right through their bodies from tail to mouth. The Kân's kinsfolk also, mentioned above, were placed in subterranean cells, each with his arms and the plate belonging to his house. Adjoining the tombs of the principal men among them to the number of ten they set up empaled horses, three to each, and beside the remaining tombs they impaled one horse a-piece.[1]

[1] This appears to be a very correct account of Tartar funeral ceremonies, though Ibn Batuta certainly did not witness those of a defunct *emperor*. As far back as the days of Herodotus we are told that the Scythians used to bury with their king one of his concubines, his cupbearer, a cook, groom, lacquey, messenger, several horses, etc., and a year later further ceremonial took place, when fifty selected from his attendants were strangled, and fifty of his finest horses also slain. The bowels were taken out and replaced with chaff. A number of posts were then erected in sets of two pairs each, and on every pair the half felly of a wheel was set arch-wise; "then strong stakes are run lengthwise through the bodies of the horses from tail to neck, and they are mounted on the fellies so that the felly in front supports the shoulders of the horse while that behind sustains the belly and quarters, the legs dangling in mid air; each horse is furnished with a bit and bridle," etc. The fifty strangled slaves were then set astride on the horses, and so on.

When one Valentine was sent on a mission to the Turkish chiefs by the Emperor Tiberius II about 580, it is related that he witnessed a ceremonial at the tomb of a deceased chief when Hun prisoners and horses were sacrificed.

Huc and Gabet assert that like practices are maintained among Tartar tribes to the present day, large amounts of gold and silver, and many slaves of both sexes, being buried with the royal body, the slaves being killed by being made to swallow mercury till choked, which is believed to preserve their colour!

But the most exact corroboration of Ibn Batuta's account is to be found in the (almost) contemporary narrative of Ricold of Monte Croce. After speaking of the general practice of burying food and raiment with the dead, he goes on, "Magni etiam barones omnibus hiis addunt equum bonum. Nam armiger ejus ascendit equum, cum ipsi parant se ad sepeliendum mortuum, et fatigat equum currendo et revolvendo usque ad lassitudinem, et postea lavit equo caput cum vino puro et forti, et equus cadit, et ipse exenterat eum, et evacuat omnia de ventre equi, et implet herba viridi, et postea infigit palum magnum per posteriora, et facit palum

It was a great day! Every soul was there, man and woman, Musulman and infidel. All were dressed in mourning, that is, the Pagans wore short white dresses, and the Musulmans long white dresses. The Kán's ladies and favourites remained in tents near his tomb for forty days; some remained longer; some a full year. A bazar had been established in the neighbourhood, where all necessary provisions, etc., were for sale. I know no other nation in our time that keeps up such practices. The pagans of India and China burn their dead; other nations bury them, but none of them thus bury the living with the dead. However honest people in Súdán have told me that the pagans of that country, when their king dies, dig a great pit, into which they put with him several of his favourites and servants together with thirty persons of both sexes, selected from the families of the great men of the state. They take care first to break the arms and legs of these victims, and they also put vessels full of drink into the pit.

An eminent person of the tribe of Masúfah, living among the Negroes in the country of Kúber,[1] who was much held in honour by their king, told me that when the king died they wished to put a son of his own into the tomb with some other children belonging to the country. "But I said to them," continued this eminent person, "how can you do this, seeing the boy is neither of your religion nor of your country? And so I was allowed to ransom him with a large sum of money."

exire usque ad os, et ita dimittit equum impalatum, et suspendit eum, et mandat ei quod sit paratus, quandocumque vult dominus surgere, et tunc cooperiunt mortuum in sepultura. Cum vero moritur imperator, adduntur prædictis omnes lapides preciosi et etiam magni thesauri. Et consueverunt etiam sepelire cum domino mortuo usque viginti servos vivos ut essent parati servire domino cum voluerit surgere." Such proceedings took place at the burial of Hulagu.

(*Rawlinson's Herodotus*, bk. iv, c. 71-72, and notes; *Deguignes*, ii, 395-6; *Peregrin. Quatuor*, p. 117; see also *M. Polo*, ii, 54; *Rubruquis*, p. 337; and *Plano Carpini*, p. 629.)

[1] I suppose the *Gober* of Dr. Barth's map, near Sakatu.

When the Kán was dead, as I have related, and Firuz, the son of his uncle, had usurped the supreme power, the latter chose for his capital the city of KARÁKORAM, because it was nearer to the territories of his cousins, the kings of Turkestan and Mawarulnahr.[1] Then several of the amírs who had taken no part in the slaughter of the late Kán revolted against the new prince; they began to cut off the communications, and there was great disorder.

Revolt having thus broken out, and civil war having been kindled, the Shaikh Burhánuddin and others advised me to return to (Southern) China before the disturbances should have arisen to a greater pitch. They went with me to the lieutenant of the Emperor Firuz, who sent three of his followers to escort me, and wrote orders that I should be everywhere received as a guest. So we descended the river to Khansá, Kanjanfú and Zaitun. When we reached the latter place, I found junks on the point of sailing for India, and among these was one belonging to Malik-ul-Záhir, Sultan of Java (Sumatra), which had a Mahomedan crew. The agent of the ship recognised me, and was pleased to see me again. We had a fair wind for ten days, but as we got near the land of Tawálisi it changed, the sky became black, and heavy rain fell. For ten days we never saw the sun, and then we entered on an unknown sea. The sailors were in great alarm, and wanted to return to China, but this was not possible. In this way we passed forty-two days, without knowing in what waters we were.

On the forty-third morning after daybreak we descried a mountain in the sea, some twenty miles off, and the wind was carrying us straight for it. The sailors were surprised and said, "We are far from the mainland, and in this sea no mountain is known. If the wind drives us on this one we are done for." Then every one betook himself to humilia-

[1] Here two Mongol dynasties reigning in Central Asia seem to be spoken of (see p. 274 *supra*, and note at the end of this).

tion and repentance, and renewal of good resolutions. We addressed ourselves to God in prayer, and sought the mediation of the prophet (upon whom be peace!).

The merchants vowed to bestow alms in abundance, and I wrote their vows all down in a list with my own hand. The wind lulled a little, and when the sun rose we saw the mountain aloft in the air, and the clear sky between it and the sea.[1] We were in astonishment at this, and I observed that the sailors were weeping and bidding each other adieu, so I called out, "What is the matter?" They replied, "What we took for a mountain is the Rukkh! If it sees us it will send us to destruction." It was then some ten miles from the junk. But God Almighty was gracious unto us, and sent us a fair wind, which turned us from the direction in which the Rukkh was; so we did not see him (well enough) to take cognizance of his real shape.

Two months from that day we arrived at Java (Island of Sumatra), and landed at (the city of) Sumatra. We found the Sultan Malik-ul-Zahir had just returned from one of his campaigns, and had brought in with him many captives, out of whom he sent me two girls and two boys. He put me up as usual, and I was present at the marriage of his son to the daughter of his brother.

[1] Such an appearance is a well known effect of mirage, or abnormal refraction. As to the *Rukh* see Mr. Major's Introduction to *India in the 15th century*, p. xxxvi, *seq.*, and a learned discourse in Ludolf's Comment. on his own Historia Ethiopica, pp. 163-164; also a cut from a Persian drawing in *Lane's Arabian Nights*, ii, 90. The most appropriate reference here however is perhaps to Pigafetta, who was told (possibly by descendants of Ibn Batuta's Malay crew) that in the sea of China *sotto Giava maggiore* there was a very great tree called *Campangunghi*, in which dwelt the birds called *garuda*, which were so big that they could fly away with a buffalo, or even with an elephant. No ship could approach the place within several leagues, on account of the vortices, etc. (*Primo Viaggio intorno del Mondo*, p. 174). *Garuda* is a term from the Hindu mythology for the great bird that carries Vishnu; its use among the Malays is a relic of their ancient religion, and perhaps indicates the origin of the stories of the *Rukh*. To an island of the Indian Sea also Kazwini attributes a bird of such enormous size, that, if dead, the half of its beak would serve for a ship (*Gildemeister*, p. 220).

I witnessed the ceremony. I remarked that they had set up in the middle of the palace yard a great seat of state, covered with silk stuffs. The bride arrived, coming from the inner apartments of the palace on foot, and with her face exposed, so that the whole company could see her, gentle and simple alike. However it is not their usual custom to appear in public unveiled in this way; it is only done in the marriage ceremony.[1] The bride proceeded to the seat of state, the minstrels male and female going before her, playing and singing. Then came the bridegroom on a caparisoned elephant, which carried on its back a sort of throne, surmounted by a canopy like an umbrella. The bridegroom wore a crown on his head; right and left of him were about a hundred young men, of royal and noble blood, clothed in white, mounted on caparisoned horses, and wearing on their heads caps adorned with gold and gems. They were of the same age as the bridegroom, and all beardless.

From the time when the bridegroom entered, pieces of gold and silver were scattered among the people. The sultan was seated aloft where he could see all that passed. His son got down from the elephant, went to kiss his father's foot, and then mounted on the seat of state beside his bride. They then brought pawn and betel-nut; the bridegroom took them in his hand and put them into the bride's mouth, and she did the same by him. Next he put a pawn-leaf first into his own mouth and then into hers, and she did in like manner.[2] They then put a veil over the bride, and removed the

[1] I suspect this apologetic assertion is not founded in fact. The Mahomedan proselytizers among the Malays and Indo-Chinese races have never been able to introduce the habitual use of the veil, and the custom of female seclusion. At Amarapura, in 1855, the Mahomedan soldiers of our Indian escort were greatly shocked at the absence of these proprieties among the Burmese professors of their faith; and at the court of the Sultan of Java, in 1860, I had the honour of shaking hands with more than half a dozen comely and veilless ladies, the wives and daughters of His Majesty. I was told that at times they even honoured a ball at the Dutch Residency with their presence.

[2] This is a genuine Malay custom, marking the highest degree of inti-

seat of state into the interior of the palace, whilst the young couple were still upon it; the company took refreshments and separated. Next day the sultan called the people together, and named his son as his successor on the throne. They took an oath of obedience to him, and the future sovereign distributed numerous presents in money and dresses.

I spent two months in this island of Java, and then embarked again on a junk. The sultan presented me with a quantity of aloes-wood, camphor, cloves, and sandal-wood, and then gave me leave to depart. So I sailed, and after forty days I arrived at Kaulam. Here I put myself under the protection of Al-Kazwini, the judge of the Mahomedans. It was the month of Ramazan, and I was present at the festival of breaking the fast in the chief mosque of the city. The custom of the people there is to assemble on the eve of the feast at the mosque, and to continue reciting the praises of God till morning, and indeed till the moment when the prayer appropriate to the feast begins. Then this prayer is offered, the preacher pronounces a discourse, and the congregation disperses.

From Kaulam I went to Calicut, where I remained some days. I intended at first to return to Dehli, but on second thoughts I had fears as to the consequences of such a step. So I embarked again, and after a passage of 28 days, I arrived at ZHAFÁR.[1] This was in the month of Moharram, of the year 48 (April or May, 1347).[2] I took up my quarters with the city preacher, 'Isa Ibn Thátha.

macy between the sexes. Dulaurier quotes several examples in illustration from Malay poems.

[1] *Zhafar* or *Dhofar*, one of the now decayed ports of Arabia, on the coast of Hadhramaut. It is spoken of by Marco Polo as a beautiful, large, and noble city (iii, 41), but probably from report only. Ibn Batuta seems chiefly struck by the flies and stench in the bazar (ii, 196).

[2] At p. 425 I have pointed out generally that this date is inconsistent with previous statements. Let me sum up the intervals assigned to the different sections of his expedition to China:

Those previous statements would make the time of his second visit

to the Maldive Islands fall at least as late as August, 1346. He is 43 days on the voyage thence to Chittagong, and 40 days on that from Sonarganw to Sumatra. It is not stated how long was the intervening time spent in Bengal, but he waited at Sumatra a fortnight, "till the right season for the voyage to China had arrived," and this must have been the termination of the N.E. monsoon, about March, 1347; or the commencement of the S.W. monsoon, a little later. The voyage to China occupies time as follows:—To Mul-Jawa 21 days, stay there 3; to the Calm Sea 34, on that sea to Tawalisi 37, stay there say 3; to Zaitun 17, total 115 days, and time of arrival about July or August. The interval occupied by his journey in China may be thus estimated: stay at Zaitun probably not less than 10 days, voyage to Canton 27, stay there 14, back say 27, stay again at Zaitun say 4: journey to Kanjanfu 10, stay there 15; to Baiwam Kotlu 4, to Khansa 17, stay at Khansa at least 20; to Khanbalik 64, stay there not specified, but probably not less than 60 days: voyage back to Zaitun say the same as before, omitting stoppages, i.e. 95 days. This makes the whole time over which his travels in China extended 367 days, and would bring the season of his sailing for India again to July or August. His voyage as far as Sumatra then occupies 112 days, he passes about 60 days there, is 40 days in sailing to Kaulam, stops a while, say 15 days, at Kaulam and Calicut, and reaches Zhafar in a voyage of 28, in all 255 days, which brings us to March or April, agreeing with the time assigned in the text for his arrival at Dhafar, but April in 1349, not April in 1347. The former date is, however, quite inconsistent with that assigned for his arrival in his native country (November, 1349); nor would perhaps even April 1348 allow the traveller of those days to accomplish all that Ibn Batuta did in the interval, especially as he gives several consistent intermediate dates between his arrival at Dhafar and his reaching Fez.

Without going into tedious details, I think it probable that his visit to Bengal must, in spite of the date to the contrary, be put one year back, viz., to the cold weather of 1345-46, and that the time occupied in his Chinese travels, including the voyage thither and back, must be cut down by a whole year also. This may be considered in connection with the doubts expressed as to his having really visited Peking.

NOTE E. (See page 461.)

ON THE KAMRU OF IBN BATUTA (THE RESIDENCE OF THE SHAIKH JALALUDDIN), THE BLUE RIVER, AND THE CITY OF HABANK.

It has, I believe, been generally assumed that the country of Kamru visited by Ibn Batuta was *Assam*, and that the Blue River by which he returned to the Ganges Delta was the Brahmaputra. And I gather that M. Defrémery (iv, 215) takes this view.

It appeared to me however when I took up the subject that there was some reason to believe that the district visited was Silhet, and that the river in question was one branch or other of the great Silhet River, the *Barak* or the *Surma*. This was first suggested by the statement in the text that Shaikh Jaláluddin had converted a large number of the inhabitants to the Mahomedan faith; for it is a fact that in Silhet, though so remote from the centres of Mahomedan influence, there is an unusually large proportion of the peasantry who profess that religion. It seemed however probable that if Silhet *were* the site of Jalaluddin's missionary exertions, some trace of his memory would be preserved there. And of this I speedily found indications in two English works, whilst at the same time I forwarded through a valued friend, who had a correspondent at Silhet, some brief queries for answer on the spot.

In the interesting narrative of Robert Lindsay, who was one of the first English residents or collectors of Silhet (*Lives of the Lindsays*, iii, 168), we find that on his first arrival there he was told "that it was customary for the new resident to pay his respects to the shrine of the tutelar saint Shaw Julull. Pilgrims of the Islam faith flock to the shrine from every part of India, and I afterwards found that the fanatics attending the tomb were not a little dangerous", etc. An article on Silhet, by Captain Fisher, in the J.A.S. Bengal for 1840 (the exact citation I have unluckily lost), also speaks of Shah Jalál's shrine, and of his being traditionally regarded as the conqueror of the country for the Mahomedans.

Kámrúb, Kámrún, or Kámrú, corrupted from the Sanscrit *Kámarúpa* or Kamrup, was vaguely known to the Arab geographers as the name of a mountainous country between India and China, noted for its production of a valuable aloes-wood (see *Gildemeister*, pp. 70, 191; and *Reinaud, Rel. des Voyages*, etc., p. 41). Though the seat of the ancient Hindu Government of Kamrup was probably in Assam, a central district of which still preserves the name, we are informed by Captain Fisher (with no view to such a question as the present) that "it is known that Kamrup extended to the southward as far as the confluence of the Megna with the Brahmaputra" (*i. e.*, to the vicinity of Dacca; *o. c.*, p. 829). He adds that there are still in Silhet some Musalman families who are the descendants of Rajas once under the dynasty of Kamrup, and who were

forced to conform to Mahomedanism on the change of masters. Of these, a principal one is the Raja of Baniachong (a place between the Barak and Surma, about forty miles S.W. of Silhet). The first invasion of Kamrup by the Mahomedans took place in 1205-6 under Mahomed Bakhtiyar Khilji, Governor of Bengal; a second in 1253-57 under another Governor called Toghral Beg Malik Yuzbek (see *Stewart's History of Bengal*, pp. 45, *seqq.*). Both these invasions ended in disaster; but, as far as can be understood, both appear to have been directed through the Silhet territory, and then across the passes of the Kasia or Jaintia Hills into Assam. In the accounts of both invasions mention is made of a great river called *Bangamati*, on which stood a chief city which was captured by Bakhtiyar Khilji. This name is not now applied to any river in that quarter; but it seems highly probable that it may be connected with the *Habank* (*Habanga*) of Ibn Batuta, and that this was situated at or near Silhet, perhaps at the place now called BANGA, at the bifurcation of the Surma and Barak, twenty or thirty miles above Silhet. The Bangamati is described in the account of the Khilji's campaign as "three times as big as the Ganges". But this might easily be accounted for if (as is very possible) the rivers of Silhet then chanced to occupy a more concentrated channel than at present, or if (as Captain Fisher suggests) the annual inundation had not quite subsided. This inundation, when at its height, as I have seen it from the Kasia Hills, appears like a vast estuary, covering the whole plain, eighty miles in width, between the Kasia and the Tipura Hills.

So far I had written when the answer arrived from my friend's correspondent, the Rev. W. Pryse of the Silhet mission. My questions had related to Jalaluddin and Habank, and whether any traces of a city existed at Banga. Mr. Pryse states that the name of *Jalalludin Tabrisi* was known to the learned Mahomedans at Silhet only as that of a Pir or Saint in Hindustan, but not locally either in Silhet or Cachar. He then proceeds:—

"SHAH JELALL, according to tradition, came to Silhet about the middle of the fourteenth century (A.D.) accompanied by a hundred and eighty Arab *Pírs* [Holy Men] from Yemen. There is a Persian MS. called "Suhayli-Yemen" still partly in existence at Shah Jelall's Musjid here, which I have seen, but unfortunately the date and a large portion of the MS. are not legible, from the effect of the climate. Shah Jelall's tomb once was, but is not now, a place of pilgrimage.

"HABANG is the name of a small Tillah[1] in the Pergunnah of Dinarpore south of Hubbigunge in this Zillah, running along the eastern or left bank of the Barak or Koosiara River. In tradition it is noted for its *Pírs*, under the name of "Habangia Tillah", or, as pronounced in the neighbourhood, "Hapaniya Tillah". . . .

"Chor Goola Tillah, to the south-east of Latoo, some ten or twelve miles S.E. of Banga Bazar (which still exists just at the separation of Soorma and Koosiara Rivers, on the western confines of Cachar), was for-

[1] *Tila* is the word commonly applied in Eastern Bengal to low and often isolated hills starting up from the plain. At the town of Silhet there are several such, on which the houses of the European officials are built.

merly noted for its *Pírs*. An old fellow still resides there in the midst of the jungles on the bank of the beautiful Svind *Bheel* (lake). The illiterate Moslems around have a tradition that the *Pirs* there make the tigers their playmates and protectors, and that boats ready manned start up from the lake ready for their use whenever they wish.

"*Banga Basar* is a modern village. The hillocks and jungles to the eastward are the resort of the Pirs.

* * * * * * *

"I think it probable that all the eastern portion of the Zillah of Silhet was uninhabited when Mullik Yuzbek first entered the valley in 1253. Hence we find that the Hindus preponderate in the population of the western half, and the Moslems in that of the eastern half."

A later note from the same gentleman adds: "I have found four celebrated spots in this Zillah at which report says Shah Telall settled some of the *Pirs* who accompanied him, viz., Silhet Latoo, Hapaniya Tillah in Toroff, and HABANG Tillah on the south-eastern bank of the Chingra Khal river, about six miles north-west from Silhet, and about four miles north from the village of Akhalia. At present nothing is to be found in any of these places excepting Silhet, where there is a mosque kept in repair by government. I believe the Habang Tillah on the Chengra Khal must be the one Col. Y. spoke of."

These interesting notes appear to me to render it *certain* that Silhet was the field of our traveller's tour. That Shaikh Jalaluddin's name has got shortened by familiar use is of no importance against this view—*Shah* is a title often applied to eminent Mahomedan saints—whilst we learn that tradition still regards him as a saint and a leader of saints; that the date assigned to him corresponds fairly with that derivable from Ibn Batuta, for the *death* of Jalaluddin must have occurred close upon the middle of the 14th century, shortly after Ibn Batuta's visit, *i.e.* in 1347 or 1348 (see *supra* pp. 461, 464); and that the name of Habank still survives, and has a legendary fame. If no remains of Ibn Batuta's great city exist, that is small wonder. Neither climate nor materials in Bengal are favourable to the preservation of such remains, and I know of no medieval remains in Bengal Proper except at Gaur and Pandua.

The name of *Al-Asrak*, which our author applies to the river which he descends from Habank, is the same as that (*Bahr-al-Asrak*) which we translate as the *Blue Nile* of Abyssinia. Ibn Batuta applies the same name to the River Karun in Khuzistan (ii, 23). A Persian title of like significance (*Nil-Ab*) is applied by Musalman writers to the Indus, and also it would appear to the Jelum (see Jour. A.S., ix, 201; *Sadik Isfahani*, p. 51; *Dow's Firishta*, i, 25), and the name here may therefore have been given arbitrarily. According to Wilkinson, however, *Asrak* signifies *black* rather than *blue* (*Rawlinson's Herod.*, ii, 25); and it is possible that the name of the River *Surma*, suggesting the black collyrium so called, may have originated the title used by Ibn Batuta.

I doubt if water wheels are at present used for irrigation, as described by the traveller, in any part of Bengal Proper, though common in the Upper Provinces.

I should strongly dissent from Mr. Pryse's idea that Eastern Silhet was

uninhabited in the 13th century. But I think it is highly probable that the inhabitants were not Hindus, but of Indo-Chinese race, like those occupying the adjoining hills and part of Cachar. This is implied in Ibn Batuta's account of the people, though in strictness he speaks only of the hill people. These, however, in the adjoining mountains, have not been converted to Mahomedanism. They retain their original character, and have the Mongolian type of features in the highest development. As regards their powers of work, of which the traveller speaks so highly, I may observe that, when I was in that region, porters of the Kasia nation used often to carry down from the coal mines of Cherra Punji to the plains, a distance of eleven miles, loads of two maunds or 165 lbs. of coal. Their strength and bulk of *leg* were such as I have never seen elsewhere.

On the map at the end of this book I have inserted a sketch from such imperfect materials as are available, to make Ibn Batuta's travels in Bengal more intelligible. No decent map of Silhet yet exists, but my friend Colonel Thuillier informs me that the survey is finished, so a correct representation of that remarkable country may be expected before long.

NOTE F. (See page 468.)

ON THE MUL-JAVA OF IBN BATUTA.

This *Mul-Java* is made by all the commentators, professed or incidental (see Lee, Dulaurier, Defrémery, Gildemeister, Walckenaer, Reinaud, Lassen), to be the Island of Java, and by help of Sanscrit the appellation is made with more or less of coercion to signify "*Primitive* or *Original* Java." Setting aside the questionable application of Sanscrit etymologies to explain names which were probably conferred by Arab sailors, surely it is not hard to see that if by Mul-Java, where elephants were kept by every petty shopkeeper, and eagle-wood was used to serve the kitchen fires, the traveller did mean JAVA, then he lied so egregiously that it is not worth considering what he meant. There are *no* elephants in Java, except such few as are imported to swell the state of the native princes,—at present, perhaps, considerably fewer than we could muster in England,—and there is no eagle-wood.

These circumstances taken alone would lead us to seek for the country in question on some part of the Continent bordering the Gulf of Siam, probably in or near Cambodia. *There* elephants are still almost as common as Ibn Batuta represents them, and the country is also, and has been for ages, the great source of supply of aloes or eagle-wood. When formerly suggesting this view (in a note on *Jordanus*, p.33), I applied to a learned Arabic scholar to know if there were no term like *mul* in that language which might bear some such sense as *Terra-firma*. The answer was unfavourable. But I have since lighted on a solution. In vol. xxix of the Jour. of the R.G.S. p. 30, Capt. Burton mentions that the Arabs having in latter times confined the name of Zanjibar to the island and city now so called, they generally distinguish the mainland as *Bar-el-*MOLI, or "Continent," in

opposition to *Kisiwa* "Island." And below he adds, "The word *Moli* commonly used in the corrupt Arabic of Zanjibar, will vainly be sought in the Dictionaries." *Mul-Java* then is Java of the Main.

It is true that in the only other place where I have been able to find this name used, a passage quoted by D'Ohsson from the Mongol History in the Persian language, called *Tarikh-i-Wassaf*, it is stated that in 1292 Kublai Khan conquered "the *Island* of Mul-Java," which is described as lying in the direction of India, and as having a length of 200 farsangs, and a breadth of 100. It is added that the sovereign of this country, *Sri Rama* by name, died on his way to pay homage to Kublai, but his son arrived, and was well received, obtaining the confirmation of his government on condition of rendering a tribute of gold and pearls (*D'Ohsson*, ii, 465). As regards the use of the word *island* here, it is to be remembered that the Arabs used the wood *Jasirah* also for a peninsula, as we have already had occasion to observe. Thus Abulfeda calls the Spanish Peninsula *Jasirat-ul-Andalus*, and Ibn Jubair applies the plural *Jasair* to what we by a kind of analogy call the Two Sicilies (*Reinaud's Abulfeda*, ii, 234; *Jour. Asiat.*, Jan., 1846, p. 224; see also *Gildemeister*, p. 59). Let it be remembered also that the terms *Jawa*, *Jawi*, with the Arabs were applied not merely to the specific islands of Java and Sumatra, but "to the whole Archipelago, its language, and inhabitants" (*Crawfurd's Dict. of I. Islands*, p. 165). To what region then would the full application *Jasirah Mul Jáwa*, or "Peninsula of Java of the Main," apply so aptly as to what we call the *Malay Peninsula*, which, I may observe, Crawfurd in all his works on the Archipelago treats as essentially part of that region? And turning to the fragments of hazy history preserved by the Malays, we find as one of the early kings over the Malay or Javanese settlers in the peninsula, Sri Rama Vikrama. The reign of this king indeed, according to Lassen's interpretation of the chronology, is placed 1301-1314, some years too late for the date in Wassaf, but the Malay dates are very uncertain (see *Lassen*, iv, 542; and *Crawfurd*, o. c. 243). I have little doubt, then, that the Peninsula was the Mul-Java of the two authors, though possibly the extension of the name towards Siam and Cambodia may not have been very exactly limited, for we know from Debarros that the king of Siam claimed sovereignty over the Peninsula even to Singapore, and it may still have been in the former quarter that Ibn Batuta landed. Even if this be not admissible, I may remark that we know little now of the eastern coast of the Peninsula or regarding the degree of civilisation to which it may have attained in former days. The elephant, however, abounds in its northern forests, and is still commonly domesticated. The aloes-wood also is found there, though lower in repute than that of Cambodia (see *Crawfurd* in vv. *Elephant* and *Agila*).

At p. 469 I have quoted from Abulfeda a slight indication of the position of Kumára, which Ibn Batuta represents to have been a city belonging to Mul-Java, as at the northern end of the Malay Peninsula. It may however have been on the other side of the Gulf of Siam, and in that case it is possible that the name may be connected with *Khmer*, the ancient native name of the kingdom of Cambodia (see *Pallegoix Des. du Royaume Thai ou Siam*, i, 29, and *Mouhot's Travels*, i, 278).

NOTE G. (See page 477.)

ON THE TAWALISI OF IBN BATUTA.

This *Tawálisi* is a great difficulty. The French translators say, "The Isle of Celebes, or rather perhaps Tunkin;" Dulaurier, "The coast of Camboja, Cochin-China, or Tunkin;" Lassen, "By this name no place can be meant but Tonkin;" whilst Walckenaer identifies it with *Tawal*, a small island adjoining Bachian, one of the Moluccas. This last suggestion seems to have been based on the name only, and all have been made in connection with the assumption that the Mul-Jawa of our author is Java, which we have seen that it cannot be.

It seems to me impossible that Tawalisi should be Cambodia, Cochin-China, or Tunking, for two conclusive reasons: (1) that the voyage from Mul-Jawa to Tawalisi occupies seventy-one days, and is considered by our traveller's shipmates an unusually good passage; (2) that the last thirty-seven days of this time are spent on the passage of the *Bahr-al-Káhil*, disturbed by neither winds nor waves, a character which in this case we should have to attach to the China Sea, the very metropolis of Typhoons.

But I do not find it easy to get beyond a negative. Indeed, considering that *Killa-Karai* is the real name of a port in South India, and that *Urduja* is a name which our author in a former part of his travels has assigned to one of the Queens of Mahomed Uzbek Khan on the Wolga, and has explained to mean in Turkish 'Born in the Camp,' whilst the Lady of Tawalisi herself is made to speak not only to the traveller but to her own servants a mixture of Turkish and Persian, a faint suspicion rises that Tawalisi is really to be looked for in that part of the atlas which contains the Marine Surveys of the late Captain Gulliver.

Putting aside this suspicion, no suggestion seems on the whole more probable than that Tawalisi was the kingdom of Soolo or Súlúk, N.E. of Borneo. "Owing to some cause or other," says Crawfurd, "there has sprung up in Soolo a civilisation and power far exceeding those of the surrounding islanders. A superior fertility of the soil, and better means of maintaining a numerous and concentrated population, has probably been the main cause of this superiority; but whatever be the cause, it has enabled this people not only to maintain a paramount authority over the whole Archipelago (*i. e.* the so-called Soolo Archipelago), but to extend it to Paláwan and to the northern coasts of Borneo and islands adjacent to it." Adopting this view, we should have the *Bahr-al-Kahil* in the sea between Java Borneo and Celebes, where hurricanes are unknown, and stormy weather is rare. And, the time mentioned by Ibn Batuta, if we suppose it occupied in the voyage from the upper part of the Gulf of

Siam through the Java Sea and Straits of Macassar to Soolo, a distance of some 2,200 nautical miles, over a great part of which the ship had to be towed, would seem much less improbable than if the course were to Cochin-China or Tonkin. The naval power of Tawalisi is one of the most prominent features in the narrative, and the Soolo people have been noted throughout the seas of the Archipelago for the daring exploits of their piratical fleets from our earliest acquaintance with those regions. It would seem also from Ibn Batuta's expression, "the load of two elephants in rice," that elephants were used in Tawalisi. Now the elephant is alleged by Dalrymple to exist in Soolo, and though Crawfurd doubts the fact, there seems no sufficient reason for his doubts. It is *known*, moreover, to exist in the adjoining part of Borneo, which may have belonged to Soolo then as it does now, and though not used now it was found in a domesticated state at Brunei by Magellan's party in 1521. These are the only portions of the Archipelago east of Sumatra in which the elephant is known.

However, I by no means put forth this hypothesis with any great confidence. The statement that the Sovereign was the equal of the King of China would certainly be preposterous; but so it would in almost any conceivable identification of Tawalisi, unless we take it for Japan. To this there are objections still more serious.

I suspect this kingdom of Soolo, or *Súlák*, as the Malays call it, may be also the *Lohac* of Marco Polo which has so much troubled commentators (iii, 7). This was an extensive region, lying 500 miles south-east of Sondur and Condur (Pulo Condore), inhabited by pagans, with a language of their own, under a king tributary to no one, being in a very inaccessible position, producing much brazil-wood and great abundance of gold, having elephants in its forests, and supplying all the east with *porcelains* or cowry-shells for currency. The position answers to that of Soolo with fair accuracy; cowries are said to be found in quantities there only of all the Indian islands; the elephant, as we have seen, is reported to exist there, and certainly does exist in the adjoining territory of Borneo, belonging to Soolo; its "much gold" is spoken of by Barbosa. Pauthier, indeed, in his new edition of Polo from ancient French MSS. reads *Soucat* instead of Lohac, and identifies it with *Sukadana*, on the S.W. of Borneo. But neither elephants nor cowries appear to be found in that part of Borneo; and as the native name of Soolo is *Sug*, that *may* have been the name indicated, if Soucat be the right reading. Let me add, however, that Soolo is said to have been at one time subject to Sukadana, and this circumstance might perhaps help to reconcile Pauthier's suggestion with the facts.

Confining ourselves to the indications afforded by the *names* as given by Ibn Batuta, besides the *Tawal* of Walckenaer we have (as noticed at p. 90) a place marked as *Talysian*, on the east coast of Borneo, and one of the chief Soloo islands called *Tawi-tawi*. As regards *Kailukari*, the Atlas of Mercator and Hondius shows on the west coast of Celebes a place called *Curi-curi*, which may perhaps be the same that we now find as *Kaili*, a district carrying on a good deal of trade with Singapore, Java, etc. There is also a place called *Kalakah*, on the north-eastern coast of

Borneo. The port of Tawalisi is called *Kailúka* in Lee's version, but no importance can be attached to this. (See *Crawfurd's Dict. Ind. Islands*, Articles, *Soolo, Elephant, Kaili, Cowry*; ditto *Malay Dict.* p. 72; *Pauthier's Polo*, p. 563).

We should not omit to call attention to a certain resemblance between the *Tawálisi* of our author and the *Thalamasin* of Odoric.

NOTE H. (See page 510.)

REGARDING THE HISTORY OF THE KHANS OF CHAGATAI.

In this passage Ibn Batuta appears to speak of Turkestan and Mawaralnahr as separate kingdoms. Whether he so intends or not it is the case that the Chagatai or Middle Empire of the Mongols was by this time divided; and as I know no book that contains a coherent sketch of the course of events in that empire, I will here put together what I have gathered from such scattered sources as are accessible.

The tract assigned by Chinghiz, in the distribution of his provinces, to his son Chagatai, embraced Mawaralnahr and part of Khwarizm, the Uigur country, Kashgar, Badakhshan, Balkh, and the province of Ghazni to the banks of the Sindh;[1] or in modern geography, the kingdoms of Independent Tartary with the exception of Khiva or the greater part of it, the country under the Uzbeks of Kunduz, Afghanistan, and the western and northern portions of Chinese Turkestan, including Dsungaria. Bishbalik, north of the Thianshan, was at first the head quarters of the Khans, but it was afterwards transferred to Almalik.[2]

[1] *Defrémery's* Extracts from *Khondemir* in *Journal Asiatique*, ser. iv, tom. xix, pp. 58 *seqq*.

[2] As early as the time of Chagatai himself, however, his summer camp was in the vicinity of Almalik. And when Hulagu was on the march from Karakorum to destroy the Assassins (A.D. 1254) the Princess Regent Organah, widow of Kara Hulagu grandson and successor of Chagatai, came out from Almalik to receive him with due honour. Hence it would appear that Almalik was one at least of the capitals from a very early date. In the following century, about 1330-34, we find Ibn Batuta observing that it was the proper capital of the kings of this dynasty, and that one of the charges brought against the Khan Tarmashirin, which led to his supersession, was that he always remained in Mawaralnahr, and for four years running had not visited Almalik and the eastern dominions of his family. In the time of the immediate successors of Tarmashirin also, when Almalik was visited by the Archbishop Nicolas (about 1335-6), and by Marignolli (1341), it appears to have been the residence of the sovereigns of Chagatai (*Quatremère's Rashid.*, p. 146; *Ibn Bat.*, iii, 41; *supra*, pp. 172, 338).

It was during the government of the abovementioned Organah that Rubruquis passed through the country, and probably what he states of the region being called *Organum* originated in some misapprehension of this (see *Rubr.*, p. 281).

In the space of about one hundred and twenty years no less than thirty descendants or kinsmen of Chagatai are counted to have occupied his throne, and indeed revolutions, depositions, murders, and usurpations seem to have succeeded each other with a frequency unusual even in Asiatic governments.[1]

At an early date however in the history of the dynasty, the claims of Kaidu to the Supreme Kaanship, of which Kublai had effective possession, seem to have led to a partition of the Chagatai territory. For Kaidu, who was of the lineage of Okkodai,[2] not of Chagatai, whilst claiming in the higher character of Supreme Khakan to exercise superiority over the apanage of Chagatai and to nominate its proper khans, held also under his own immediate sway a large tract, the greater part of which belonged apparently to the former apanage as originally constituted. It is not very clear what were the limits between Kaidu's territory and that of the Chagatai Khans, and indeed the two must have been somewhat interlocked, for Kaidu and Borak Khan of Chagatai at one time exercised a sort of joint sovereignty in the cities of Bokhara and Samarkand. But it may be gathered that Kaidu's dominions included Kashgar and Yarkand, and all the cities bordering the south side of the Thian Shan as far east as Karakhoja, as well as the valley of the Talas river, and all the country north of the Thian Than from Lake Balkash eastward to the Chagan Nur, and in the further north between the Upper Yenisei and the Irtish.[3] Khotan appears to have belonged to the Great Kaan, but Borak Kaan got possession of it in the beginning of his reign, and I do not know if it was recovered by Kublai,[4] or if it passed into the hands of Kaidu.

During a great part of Kaidu's struggles he found a staunch ally in Dua the son of Borak, whom he had set upon the throne of Chagatai in 1272.[5] After Kaidu's death in 1301, his son and successor Shabar joined with Dua in making submission to Timur the successor of Kublai; but before long, the two former princes having quarrelled, Dua seized the territory of Shabar, and thus substantially reunited the whole of the original apanage of Chagatai, as it had been before the schism of Kaidu.[6]

This state of things does not appear however to have endured long; for

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[1] See for example at p. 189 *supra*, where some obscure points in the chronology of those kings have already been discussed.

[2] He was son of Kashi, son of Okkodai.

[3] See *D'Ohsson*, ii, 361, 450-2, 516; iii, 427; *Notices et Extraits*, xiv, 224; *Polo* in *Pauthier's* ed. and notes, pp. 137, 163, 241, 253, 716 *et seqq.*, also the version of a Chinese sketch of Asia under the Mongols on the Map at the end of that work. Khondemir appears to have written the History of Kaidu, which would I presume throw exacter light upon the limits of his dominions. But this does not seem to have been translated (see *Defrémery*, op. cit., p. 267).

[4] *Defrémery*, op. cit., p. 250. Marco says of Khotan, "Ils sont au grand Kaan" (*Pauthier*, 143).

[5] So *D'Ohsson*. Khondemir puts Dua's accession in 1291, but notices that other accounts gave a different statement (*Defrémery*, p. 265).

[6] *D'Ohsson*, ii, 518 *seq.*

within a few years a new schism took place, of which the history is very obscure.

The people of Eastern Turkestan and the other regions in that direction which had been subject to Kaidu, probably preferred to be under a separate rule from that of Transoxiana; for we are told by Abulghazi[1] that the people of Kashgar and Yarkand, the inhabitants of the Alatagh and the Uigurs, "finding none of the posterity of Chagatai (qu. Okkodai?) among them to fill the vacant throne," called to be their Khan Imil Khwaja the son of Dua Khan.[2] This prince was succeeded in 1347 by his son Tughlak Timur. Thus was established a new *Eastern* branch of the Chagatai dynasty.

The kingdom so formed was that which is known to the Persian historians of Timur and his successors as *Mogolistan* (not to be confounded with the true Mongolia to the eastward), or the Ul ús of Jatah (or in French spelling *Djéteh*, the Gète country of Petis de la Croix). Their winter capital was perhaps originally at Kashgar or Yarkand, and afterwards at Aksu, and their summer quarters north of the Thian Shan.[3] In the history of Timur who took the royal residence in 1389 it is called AYMUL GUJA.[4] This is perhaps the *Imil*, on the banks of the river so called flowing into Lake Ala-Kul, which was the original capital of the Khitan refugees who founded the empire of Kara-kitai (*supra*, p. 178), and which John de Plano Carpini on his journey to the court of Kuyuk Khan names as Omyl. It is perhaps represented at the present day, as D'Avezac suggests, by the Chinese frontier town of Chuguchak or Tarbogotai.[5] It is difficult however to understand such a disposition of the frontier between the two branches of the Chagatai empire as should have permitted the capital of that one which ruled over Kashgar and Uiguria to be in the site just indicated, whilst that of the other branch ruling over Mawaralnahr was situated at Almalik. If the site assigned to Aymul be correct, probably it was not the head quarters of the eastern branch

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[1] Cited in the *Universal History* (Fr. Trans.) tom. xvii, 619 *seqq*. *Deguignes*, i, 289.

[2] As the history is given by Abul Ghazi, this Imil Khwaja is *identical* with that son of Dua who succeeded to the throne of Chagatai under the name of Isanbuga Khan in 1309; and the story as told would seem to imply that he gave up reigning in Transoxiana to reign in Eastern Turkestan. If this be true, the establishment of this schism must have occurred some time before 1321, as Gabak or Kapak, the successor of Isanbuga on the throne of Chagatai, died in that year, the date of his accession not being recorded. According to Khondemir, however, Isanbuga reigned over Chagatai till his death, and Imil Khwaja would seem to be a brother (see *Defrémery*, pp. 270 and 280).

[3] See *Russians in Central Asia*, p. 69.

[4] In *H. de Timur Bec* by *Petis de la Croix*, vol. ii; also in the *Univ. Hist.* as above, p. 622 *seqq*.

[5] *D'Avezac*, Not. sur les anciens Voyages en Tartarie, etc., in *Rec. de Voyages*, iv, 516. The capital of Kara Khitai when at the height of its power was *Bala Sagun*. I cannot ascertain the proper position of this; but it was, I believe, different from Imil, and lay between Bishbalik and Kara Korum.

till the western branch of Chagatai in its rapid decay had lost its hold on the valley of the Ili.

Kazan Khan, slain in 1346 or 1348, was the last effective Khan of the main branch of Chagatai. After his time the titular Khans were mere puppets in the hands of the great Amirs, who set them up one year and probably murdered them the next. And so things continued until one of those Amirs, the famous TIMUR, became predominant. Even he in the height of his conquests continued to maintain titular successors to the throne of Chagatai, and to put their names at the head of State papers. Sultan Mahomed Khan, the last of these, died on one of Timur's campaigns in Anatolia, in 1403.[1]

In 1360, and again in 1361-62, whilst Mawaralnahr was in the state of anarchy to which we have alluded, Tughlak Timur invaded and subdued the country, leaving on the second occasion his son Elias Khwaja as his representative at Samarkand. Thus the whole empire would seem again to have been united; but it was only for a brief space. For in 1363-64, about the time of the death of Tughlak Timur, the amirs Husain and Timur revolted and expelled Elias. He escaped to his paternal dominions, but some time afterwards his life was taken by Kamaruddin Dughlak, of a powerful family which about this time became hereditary rulers of Kashgar. He seized the khanate, and put to death all the other children of Tughlak Timur on whom he could lay hands.

At a date which is uncertain, but probably about 1383, Khizr Khwaja, a son of Tughlak Timur, whose life had been rescued in infancy by the exertions of Khudáidád, son of Kamaruddin's brother Bulaji, the Amir of Kashgar, was through the same good offices seated on the throne of Mogolistan (or Eastern Chagatai), and he was its sovereign when Timur made his crushing campaign against the people of that country in 1389, taking the capital, and driving the Khan out of his dominions. Peace, however, was made eventually, and Timur married a daughter of Khizr Khwaja.[2]

The latter at his death was succeeded by his son Mahomed Khan, and he by his grandson Wais or Awis Khan.[3] This prince, who throughout his reign was engaged in constant and unsuccessful wars with the Kalmaks, his eastern neighbours, at his death left two sons, Isanbuga and Yúnus, each of whom was backed by a party in claiming the succession. Those who favoured Yunus took him to Mirza Ulugh Beg, the grandson of Timur (the celebrated astronomer prince), then governing at Samarkand, to seek his support; but he refused this, and sent Yunus off into Western

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[1] *Univ. Hist.*, u.s.; *Defrémery*, p. 281-2. Deguignes says it was not till after Timur's death that khans ceased to be nominated.

[2] *Defrémery*, p. 283; *Univ. Hist.* u. s.; *Notices et Extraits*, xiv, p. 474, *seqq.*

[3] The extract from *Haft Iklim* in the Not. et Ext. just quoted mentions a Shir Mahomed between Mahomed and Awis. Awis Khan is noticed apparently as the reigning chief, and at war with a Shir Mahomed Oglan, in the narrative of Shah Rukh's embassy to China (*Nots. et Ext.* xiv, Pt. i, p. 388).

Persia, where he remained in exile for eighteen years. When Mirza Abu-said of the house of Timur (1451-1468) had established himself at Samarkand, Isanbuga Khan invaded Ferghána. Abusaid in retaliation sent for the exiled Yunus, conferred on him the Khanate of Mogolistan, and dispatched him with an army into that country, where he succeeded in establishing himself.[1] During his reign a numerous army of Kalmaks entered his territory. Yunus, in attempting to resist them, was completely defeated, with the loss of most of his amirs, and fled with the remains of his army to the Jaxartes. Here he seems to have established the relics of his authority at Tashkand, and at the same place his son and successor Mahmud, called by the Mongols Janikah, was crowned. It would appear that Yunus left behind another son, Ahmed, in Mogolistan, where he maintained himself for a time. Eventually both these brothers fell into the hands of Mahomed Khan Shaibani, otherwise called Shaibek, the founder of the Uzbek power in Transoxiana, and Mahomed was in the end put to death by that chief. I can trace no information regarding later Chagatai Khans; indeed I presume that the Kalmaks about this time took possession of the country north of the Thian Shan, and that the line of Khans survived no longer as such. A son of Ahmed however succeeded in founding a dynasty in Kashgar, which maintained itself on the throne there for more than a century and a half.[2]

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[1] *Defrémery*, pp. 284-5. According to a quotation of *Quatremère's* from Haidar Razi, Yunus Khan did not mount the throne till A. H. 873=1468, the last year of Abu Said (*Journ. des Savans* for 1839, p. 24).

[2] See Introduction to the Journey of Goës, *infra*. Deguignes says he had not been able to obtain any distinct information as to the rise of the power of the Kalmaks; nor can I find it in any later book within reach.

VII.

THE JOURNEY OF BENEDICT GOËS FROM AGRA TO CATHAY.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

THE traveller whom we are now about to follow over one of the most daring journeys in the whole history of discovery, belongs to a very different period from those who have preceded him in this collection. Since the curtain fell on Ibn Batuta's wanderings two hundred and fifty years have passed away. After long suspension of intercourse with Eastern Asia, the rapid series of discoveries and re-discoveries that followed the successful voyage of De Gama have brought India, the Archipelago, China, and Japan into immediate communication with Europe by sea; the Jesuits have entered on the arena of the forgotten missions of the Franciscans, and have rapidly spread their organisation over the east, and to the very heart of each great eastern empire, to the courts of Agra, Peking, and Miako. Cathay has not been altogether forgotten in Europe, as many bold English enterprises by sea, and some by land, during the sixteenth century, testify; but to those actually engaged in the labours of commerce and religion in the Indies it remains probably but as a name connected with the fables of Italian poets, or with the tales deemed nearly as fabulous of old romancing travellers. The intelligence of the accomplished men, indeed, who formed the Jesuit forelorn in Northern China, soon led them to identify the great empire in which they were labouring, with that Cathay of which their countryman Marco had

told such wonders; but this conviction had not spread to their brethren in India, and when the leaders of the Mission at the Court of Akbar heard from Musulman travellers of a great and rich empire called KHITAI, to be reached by a long and devious course through the heart of Inner Asia, the idea seized their imaginations that here was an ample and yet untouched field awaiting the labours of the Society, if the way could but be found open; and this way they determined to explore.

The person selected for this venturesome exploration was BENEDICT GOES.[1] Before he started on his journey doubts had been suggested whether this Cathay were not indeed the very China in which Ricci and his companions were already labouring with some promise of success; but these doubts were overruled, or at least the leader of the Agra Mission was not convinced by them, and he prevailed on his superiors still to sanction the exploration that had been proposed.

The gallant soldier of the Society, one not unworthy to bear the Name on which others of that Company's deeds and modes of action have brought such obloquy, carried through his arduous task; ascertained that the mysterious empire he had sought through rare hardships and perils was China indeed; and died just within its borders. "Seeking Cathay he found heaven," as one of his brethren has pronounced his epitaph. And thus it is that we have thought his journey a fitting close to this collection; for with its termination CATHAY may be considered finally to disappear from view, leaving CHINA only in the mouths and minds of men. Not but that Cathay will be found for some time longer to retain its place as a distinct region in some maps

[1] The information regarding Goës, in addition to what is gathered from the narrative of his journey, is furnished by *Jarric*, whose work I have seen only in the Latin translation entitled "*R. P. Iarrici Tholosani, Societat. Jesu, Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, etc., *a Matthia Martinez a Gallico in Latinum sermonem translatum*; Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 1615." In the two copies that I have seen of this book (possibly therefore in all copies) there has been strange confusion made in binding the sheets. It consists of four volumes, numbered i, ii, iii, pt. 1; iii, pt. 2; and in each of three volumes out of these four are introduced numerous sheets belonging to the other two. The information regarding Goës is in vol. ii, pp. 530 *seqq.*; and in vol. iii. pt. 1, pp. 201 *seqq.*

and geographical works of pretension, but from that time its appearance could only condemn the ignorance of the authors.

Benedict Goës was born at Villa Franca, in the island of St. Michael (Azores), about 1561. I find no particulars of his rank in life or early history, nor any statement of the circumstances under which he originally went to India, but in his twenty-sixth year we first meet him as a soldier on board the Portuguese fleet on the coast of Travancore, a high-spirited and pleasure-loving young man. The dignity and culture of his character, as it shows in later life, seems to imply that he had been educated for a higher position than that of a common soldier; and it is probable that, like many a wild youth since, he had enlisted for the Indies in consequence of some youthful escapade. Happening, we are told, to enter a church near COLECHEA,[1] and kneeling before an image of the Madonna and Child, he began to reflect seriously on his past life, and was seized with such remorse that he almost despaired of salvation. This spiritual crisis ended in his making full confession of his sins to a Jesuit priest, and eventually in his entering the Order as a lay coadjutor. This position he held for the rest of his career, always modestly refusing to take orders, though often pressed to do so by his superiors in the Society.

In the end of 1594 a detachment of missionaries was sent to the Court of Akbar, at the request of the great king himself, whose oscillating convictions appear often to have been strong in favour of Christianity.[2] The head of the mission was Jerome

[1] *Kolechi*, a small port of Travancore, which Fra Paolino will have to be the Colchi of the Periplus. It has dropt out of our modern maps.

[2] The inquiries of Akbar about Christianity dated from the visit of Antony Capral, whom he received as envoy from Goa in 1578. Hearing then of a Christian priest of eminent virtue in Bengal, he sent for him to Futtehpur Sikri (which Jarric calls *Patefula*), and made him argue with the Mullahs. Moved by what this anonymous father said, the king wrote to Goa, begging that two members of the Jesuit Society might be sent to him with Christian books. This of course caused great delight and excitement, and the Provincial sent off Rudolf Aquaviva, a man of illustrious family (afterwards murdered by the natives of Salsette near Goa), and Antony Monserrat. They were most honourably received by Akbar, and great hopes of his conversion were raised. The celebrated Abul Fazl and other eminent men of the Court also showed great interest in the subject; but nothing material resulted. Some years

Xavier of Navarre, nephew of the great Francis, and his comrades were Goës and the priest Emanuel Pinner, also a Portuguese. They proceeded first to CAMBAY, where they were well received by Sultan Murad, Akbar's second son, and provided with carriage and money for their journey to LAHORE, where the Padshah then held his court. Travelling with a Kafila by AHMEDABAD and PATTAN, and then across the great Indian Desert, they reached Lahore on the 5th May, 1595, and were made most welcome by Akbar, who at the same time gladdened their hearts by his display of reverence to images of the Saviour and the Virgin Mary, the gift of a former missionary at his court.

Goës appears to have acquired the esteem of the king in an especial degree, and with Xavier accompanied him on his summer journey to Kashmir. One Christmas too, we are told, Goës constructed a model of the manger and stable of Bethlehem, after the fashion still kept up in Southern Europe, whilst some of the pupils of the mission acted a Pastoral Eclogue in the Persian tongue on the subject of the Nativity, things that greatly pleased both Musulmans and Hindus, but especially the latter.

Whilst the Court was still at Lahore (which Akbar quitted for Agra in 1598) the circumstance occurred which turned the attention of Jerome Xavier to the long-lost Cathay (as he fancied it), and excited his imagination in the manner already alluded to. This circumstance is thus related by Jarric :—

"One day as Xavier was at the palace and engaged with the

afterwards, in 1590, Akbar's thoughts again turned to Christianity, and at this time, according to the statement of the Jesuits (I know not how far well founded), he ordered a general destruction of mosques and minarets, and forbade circumcision before the fifteenth year. He again applied for instructors, and in 1591 three brethren were sent to Lahore, but after a while, seeing no hope of good, they returned to Goa. Hence on this third occasion the mission was despatched without any great alacrity or sanguine expectations. It is probable that Akbar had arrived at no decided convictions in religion, excepting as to the rejection of Mahomedanism. He seems to have projected a new eclectic kind of Theism, in which adoration was to be addressed to the sun, as an emblem of the Creator. At the same time he never seems to have lost a certain hankering after Christianity, or ceased to display an affectionate reverence for the Christian emblems which he had received from his Jesuit teachers.

king, there presented himself a Mahomedan merchant of some sixty years of age. After he had made his salutations to the king, in answer to a question whence he was come, he said that he was lately arrived from the kingdom of XETAIA. This Xavier supposed to be the same as the Cathay spoken of by Marco Polo the Venetian in his Travels, and by Hayton the Armenian in his History, and which later writers have determined to be in Tartary, or not far from it. And when the king inquired for further particulars about that empire, and as to the length of the merchant's residence there, he replied that he had been thirteen years at the metropolis of the country, which he called Kambalu. . . . This he said was the residence of the kings, who were most powerful sovereigns. For, indeed, their empire included one thousand five hundred cities; some of them immensely populous. He had often seen the king, and it was his practice never to give any reply, favourable or unfavourable, to a request, but through the eunuchs who stood by him, unless, indeed, he was addressed in writing. King Akbar asking how he had got admission into the empire, he replied that it was under the character of an ambassador from the King of *Caygar* (KASHGAR). On arriving at the frontier he was detained by the local governor, who after inspecting the seals of the letters which he carried, sent off a despatch to the king by swift horse-post. The answer giving permission for the party to proceed came back within a month. In going on to the capital they changed horses at every stage, as is practised in Europe, and thus got speedily over the ground, although the distance is very great; for they accomplished one hundred Italian miles every day. On the whole journey they met with no affront or unfair treatment, for the local judges administered justice to all, and thieves were punished with great severity. When asked about the aspect of the natives, he said that they were the whitest people he had ever seen, whiter even than the *Rumis*, or Europeans. Most of the men cherished a long beard. . . . The greater number were *Isauites*, *i.e.* Christians (for thus Christians are called after Jesus, just as if you were to say Jesuits!) When asked if they were all Isauites, he said, by no means, for there are many *Mussauites* (*i.e.* Jews, for Moses in the tongue of

those people is called *Mussau*), and there are also some Mahomedans. But is the king a Mahomedan? asked Akbar. Not yet, said the merchant, but it is hoped that he will soon be so. The colloquy was then interrupted, the sovereign graciously naming another day for the reception of the merchant, in order to ask further questions about this empire. But Xavier getting impatient, out of eagerness to learn more, went to see the merchant in order to get more precise information about the religion of the inhabitants. The merchant repeated his statement that they were, for the most part, Christians, and that he had been on terms of great intimacy with several of them. They had temples, some of them of vast size, in which were images both painted and sculptured, and among others figures of the crucified Saviour, which were held by them in great reverence. A priest was set over every temple, who was treated with great respect by the people, and received presents from them. . . . He also mentioned the continence of those priests, and the schools in which they brought up young people for holy orders. . . . The fathers moreover wore black frocks, and caps like Xavier's, only a little bigger. In saluting any one by the way they did not uncover, but joined hands across the breast, interlacing the fingers. . . . The king often went to the temples, and must, therefore, be a Christian," etc., etc.

Xavier lost no time in communicating this intelligence to the Provincial of his Order; and after arriving with the king at Agra sent the results of further inquiry made there from persons who had been to Cathay. Some people alleged that there was a way to Cathay by BENGAL and the kingdom of GARAGHAT,[1] at the ex-

[1] *Ghoraghat* ("the horse-ferry") is a town and zemindari in the Bogra district of Bengal, and is mentioned as such in the Ayin Akbari. But the *kingdom* alluded to must be that of *Kúch Bihár*, which in the time of Akbar retained independence, and extended from the Brahmaputra westward to Tirhut, from the Himalya south to Ghoraghat. In 1661 it was conquered by Mir Jumla (see *Hamilton's Gazetteer*, in *vv. Ghoraghat* and *Cooch Behar*). Kuch Bihar still exists, with a modified independence, and very much restricted limits. It is remarkable that there should have been any talk of a route to China this way in the reign of Akbar. It probably lay through Lassa. We have seen (*ante*, p. 273) that Rashiduddin recognised an overland route by Bengal and the borders of Tibet.

tremity of the Mogul territories. But merchants, who were sure to know the shortest routes, were in the habit of going from Lahore to Kashmir, and thence by the kingdom of REBAT,[1] the king of which was in alliance with the Mogul, they went straight to Kashgar, from which it was said there was a direct and easy route to the first mercantile city of Cathay, a place which the merchants asserted to be inhabited by Christians. Xavier was now quite satisfied that the country in question was indeed the Cathay of Polo, and the Christian king the representative of the famous Prester John. He sounded the king on the subject of an exploratory mission, and found him disposed to assist it cordially. All this was duly communicated to the Provincial, and through him it would appear to the higher powers in Europe.

In 1601 the encouragement of those higher powers had been received in India, and the Provincial turned his attention to the selection of a fit man for the expedition. Now it happened that Xavier and Goës had accompanied King Akbar some time previously on his expedition into the Dekkan. After the conquest of Kandesh, Akbar on some pretext sent an embassy to Goa, partly it was supposed in order to spy out the land with a view to extending his conquests in that quarter. And with this embassy he sent Goës in charge of some children of Portuguese parentage who had been found in Burhanpur and other captured fortresses.

In Goës the Provincial discerned the very man that he wanted; his judgment, courage, and skill in Persian marking him out as especially qualified for such an enterprize. Goës readily accepted the duty, and in the following year (1602) arrived at Agra to make arrangements for his journey. Akbar praised his zeal, and contributed the value of four hundred pieces of gold to the expenses of the journey, besides giving the passports mentioned in the narrative.

And some years after Akbar's time, the two Jesuits, Grueber and Dorville, found their way from China *via* Lassa and Katmandu to Patna (*Kircher, China Illustrata*, pp. 64 *seqq*).

[1] I do not know what the name *Rebat* is intended for (proper names in Jarric being often sadly mangled); perhaps for *Tibet*. The kingdom intended must be either Ladakh or Balti, which were known in those days as Great and Little Tibet.

After successfully accomplishing his journey, as has been already mentioned, Goës was detained for some seventeen months at the frontier city of Suchcu, and there died a few days after the arrival of the native Christian whom Ricci and his comrades at Peking had sent to his aid and comfort.[1] The narrative of his journey was put together, apparently by Ricci himself, from some fragment of Benedict's note-book, along with the oral statements of his faithful comrade Isaac the Armenian, and was published after the death of Ricci, with other matter that he had compiled concerning China and the mission history, in the work of Trigantius (Trigault) entitled *De Christianâ Expeditione apud Sinas*. From this our translation has been made, but some additional particulars given by Jarric from the Indian reports, and from the letters which Goës was occasionally during his journey able to send back to his superiors at Agra or Goa, have been brought forward in the notes. Altogether it is a miserably meagre record of a journey so interesting and important; and

[1] Matthew Ricci was born at Macerata, in the March of Ancona, in 1552. He entered the Jesuit Society in 1571. Being sent to India, he reached Goa in 1578, but speedily left it for Macao on being chosen by Father Valignan, the founder of the Jesuit Mission in China, as one of his aids. Not till 1583, however, were they able to establish themselves in the Canton territory. Ricci's great object for a long time was to get to Peking, and he did reach it in 1595, but was obliged, by an accidental excitement among the Chinese, to withdraw to Nanking. In 1600, he was enabled to go again, carrying presents, which had come from Europe for the Emperor. He was admitted; and having acquired the Emperor's favour, he devoted himself to the mission at the capital. Some striking conversions were made; and Ricci's science and literary works in Chinese gained him much esteem among the most eminent persons at Peking. He died 11th May, 1610, leaving Adam Schall to succeed him. The chief literary men of the city attended his funeral. His name appears in the Chinese annals as *Li-mateu*. The principles of Ricci as a missionary appear to have been to stretch conciliation as far as possible; and to seek the respect of the educated Chinese by the display of superior scientific attainments. As regards the former point, he is accused of having led the way in those dubious concessions which kindled the disputes that ended in the downfal of the missions. He was the first European to compose books in Chinese. His works of this kind were fifteen in number, and one of them is said to have been included in a collection of the best Chinese writers ordered by the Emperor Khian-lung (see *Remusat's* article in *Biog. Universelle*).

had Benedict's diary, which he is stated to have kept in great detail, been spared, it would probably have been to this day by far the most valuable geographical record in any European language on the subject of the countries through which he travelled, still so imperfectly known.

There are some perplexities about the chronology of the journey as given in Trigautius, which doubtless arise out of the manner in which the narrative was thus compiled. It is in some respects inconsistent with itself as well as with the statements in Jarric.

Thus, according to Jarric, Goës left Agra 31st October, 1602, whilst Trigautius makes it 6th January, 1603. This is not of importance however, as they agree substantially regarding the time of his final start from Lahore.

But again. The narrative in Trigautius professes to give, sometimes in precise, sometimes in round numbers, the intervals occupied by the various portions of the journey and its tedious halts. But if these be added together, even without allowance for two or three omissions, we find that the sum carries us a whole year beyond the time deducible from Jarric, and in fact would throw Benedict's death a year later than the date which Trigautius himself (or rather Ricci) fixes.[1] This is shown in

[1] The following *absolute* dates are given by Trigautius:—Goes left Agra 6th January, 1603; left Lahore in Lent (which in 1603 began on 18th February); reached Yarkand November 1603; left Yarkand November 1604; reached Sucheu in the latter part of 1605; his letters did not reach Peking till November 1606; John Ferdinand started 11th December, and reached Sucheu in the end of March 1607; eleven days later Benedict died.

The following *absolute* dates are given by Jarric:—Goes left Agra 31st October, 1602; reached Lahore 8th December; left Lahore in middle of February 1603; wrote from Yarkand in February and August 1604; set out from Yarkand 14th November, 1604; left Chalis 17th October, 1605; died 11th April, 1607.

The following are the *details* of time occupied in the journey, as given by Trigautius (and full of error):—Left Lahore in Lent [say first day of Lent, or 18th February], 1603; took to Attok thirty days, halted there fifteen, and across the Indus five; to Peshawur two *months*, halt there twenty days; go on a time not specified, halt twenty days; to Ghideli twenty-five days; to Kabul twenty days. [*This would bring him to* Kabul *on the 2nd of September, 1603, at the earliest.*] Halts at Kabul eight *months* [*and therefore leaves it about 1st May,* 1604]. To Charekar not

detail below, but here I may explain that the chief inconsistency is found in the time alleged to have been spent between Lahore and Yarkand. According to Ricci's details this period extends from February 1603, to November 1604, whereas both Jarric's data and Ricci's own *absolute* statement make the traveller reach Yarkand in November 1603, which unquestionably is the correct date. And as Ricci's *details* allege a positive halt of *eight months* at Kabul, it is evident that there must have been some singular kind of misunderstanding either of Benedict's notes, or of Isaac's language, or of both. Isaac, it will be seen, could speak nothing more intelligible than Persian, and John Ferdinand, the Chinese convert who came to seek the party at Sucheu, could not communicate with him *at all* until he had himself acquired a little Persian. This language the missionaries at Peking probably knew nothing of, and it is not therefore wonderful if misunderstanding occurred.

What the nature of this misunderstanding must have been, in some instances at least, can I think be deduced from one case in which the misstatement of the time is obvious. The journey from Attok to Peshawur is said to have occupied *two months*. Now, as the distance is about thirty miles, this is absurd. It is, therefore, not improbable that it may have been entered in Goës's notes as "II *mensil*" (Pers. *manzil*, a stage or march), and that this was understood by the Italians as "II *mensee*."

The chief obscurities attending the route of Goës, concern that section of his journey which lies between Kabul and Yarkand. In the first part of this section, embracing the passage of the Hindu Kush, the country is to a certain degree known, but there

specified; to Parwan ten days, halt there five; to Aingharan twenty; to Kalcha fifteen; to Jalalabad ten; to Talikhan fifteen, halt there one month [*which brings us at least to the 15th August*, 1604]. To Cheman, and halt there, not specified; Defiles of Badakshan eight days, halt ten; Charchunar one day, halt five days; to Serpanil ten days; to Sarchil twenty, halt two; to Chechalith two; to Tanghetar six, at least; to Yaconic fifteen days; to Yarkand five days [*which brings him to Yarkand therefore on 7th November* 1604 *at the earliest, or just* a year *later than the true date*]. It is not worth while to carry the matter further, and indeed the essential error is contained in that section of the journey which we have given here.

are several places named prominently by Goës which cannot be identified with any certainty. This is also the case in the second portion of this section of the journey, embracing the ascent through Badakhshan to the Plateau of Pamer, and the descent to Yarkand, where moreover we are in a country still most imperfectly known; for, since Marco Polo, Goës is the only European traveller across it of whose journey any narrative has seen the light.[1]

[1] The following note from a recent work, called *The Russians in Central Asia*, consisting of various papers, translated from the Russian by Messrs. Michell, shows that valuable matter, in illustration of these regions, *does* exist (I believe in the military archives at St. Petersburg):—"In a paper on the Pamir and the upper course of the Oxus, read last year before the Russian Geographical Society by M. Veniukhof, he says: 'The chaos of our geographical knowledge relating to the Pamir table-lands and the Bolor was so great that the celebrated geographer Zimmerman, working under the superintendence of Ritter, was able to produce only a very confused and utterly incomprehensible map of this region. The connecting link was wanting; it was necessary that some one should carry out the plan conceived by the Russian Government in the beginning of this century, by visiting and describing the country. Fortunately, such an additional source of information has been found,—nay, even two,—which mutually corroborate and amplify each other, although they have nothing further in common between them. I here allude to the 'Travels through Upper Asia, from Kashgar, Tashbalyk, Bolor, Badakhshan, Vakhan, Kokan, Turkestan, to the Kirghiz Steppe, and back to Cashmere, through Samarkand and Yarkand,' and to the Chinese Itinerary, translated by Klaproth in 1821, leading from Kashgar to Yarkend, Northern India, Dairim, Yabtuar, Badakhshan, Bolor, Vakhan, and Kokan, as far as the Karatau mountains. The enumeration alone of these places must, I should imagine, excite the irresistible curiosity of all who have made the geography of Asia their study. These fresh sources of information are truly of the highest importance. As regards the *Travels*, it is to be inferred from the preface, and from certain observations in the narrative, that the author was a German, an agent of the East India Company, despatched in the beginning of this or the end of the last century, to purchase horses for the British army. The original account forms a magnificent manuscript work in the German language, accompanied by forty sketches of the country traversed. The text, also, has been translated into French in a separate manuscript, and the maps worked into one itinerary in an admirable style. The christian name of the traveller, George Ludwig von ——, appears over the preface, but the surname has been erased. Klaproth's *Itinerary* is so far valuable as the physical details are extremely circumstantial; almost every mountain is laid down, and care taken to indicate whether it is wooded or snow-capped; while equal care

It is not quite clear which of the passes was followed by Goës in crossing the Hindu Kush. Some account of these will be given in a supplementary note at the end of the narrative.[1] Here I will content myself with observing that as the traveller is mentioned to have visited Parwan as well as Charekar, it may seem most probable that he crossed by the Pass of Parwan, which Wood attempted unsuccessfully in 1837. Indeed, if Parwan is correctly placed in the only map I have seen which shows it, (J. Walker's), it would be out of the way of a party going by any other Pass.[2] From Parwan till he reaches Talikhan on the borders of Badakshan, none of the names given can be positively determined; Calcia and Jalalabad, the most prominent of them,

is taken to show whether the inhabitants are nomads or a stationary people. Ruins, bridges, and villages are also intelligibly designated; so that although the same scale is not preserved throughout, its value, lucidity, and minuteness, are not thereby deteriorated.'"

I may add to the preceding notice that Professor H. H. Wilson, in his remarks on Izzet Ullah's Travels (see J. R. A. S., vii, 294), mentions a Russian officer, Yefremoff, who was last century captured by the Kirghiz, but made his escape, and travelled by Kokand and Kashgar, across Tibet to Calcutta, and so home to St. Petersburg, where he arrived in 1782, and published his travels. Meyendorff, also, in his *Voyage d'Orenbourg à Bokhara*, speaks of the travels of Raphael Danibeg, a noble Georgian, which were translated from his native language into Russian, and printed in 1815. This gentleman travelled from Kashmir to Yarkand, Aksu, Kulja, and Semipalatinsk. The same work contains a route from Semipalatinsk to Kashmir, by a Tajik of Bokhara.

[1] See note I at the end.

[2] The first notice which Jarric gives of Goës, after mentioning his departure from Lahore, is that "after going 102 coss, each equal to an Italian mile, he wrote to Pinner from the province of *Gazaria* that he was struggling with severe cold on the passage over mountains covered with snow." The 102 coss must have been estimated from Kabul, not from Lahore, as the passage would literally imply, and the snow mountains of Gazaria must have been the Hindu Kush occupied by the *Hazara* tribes; (they are called *Kesareh* by Meyendorff, *Voyage à Bokhara*, p. 140). At present the Hazaras, according to Wood (p. 199), do not extend further east than the Valley of Ghorbund; but Leech's Report on the Passes shows that they are found on the passes immediately above Parwan, and that they formerly extended to the mountains adjoining the Khawak Pass, the most easterly of all. I hope to add a sketch map such as will make Goës's route, and the doubts attending it, more intelligible.

are named so far as I know by no other traveller or geographer. Some remarks regarding them will however be found in the notes on the narrative.

From Talikhan also to the high land of Pamir we have a similar difficulty in identifying names except that descriptive one *Tangi-i-Badakhshan* ("the Straits of Badakshan") which sufficiently indicates the character of the country. But I think there can be little doubt that the route of Goës was substantially the same as that followed by Captain John Wood of the Indian Navy on his famous journey to the source of the Oxus. Badakhshan and the adjoining districts of Tokharestan, inhabited by a race of Tajik lineage and Persian speech, would seem in the middle ages not merely to have enjoyed that fame for mineral productions (especially rubies and lapis lazuli) of which a shadow still remains, but at least in their lower valleys to have been vastly more populous and productive than they now are. The "Oriental Geography" of the tenth century translated by Ouseley, and Edrisi in the twelfth century, both speak of these as fruitful and well-peopled regions flourishing with trade and wealth. Marco Polo in the thirteenth century speaks of Talikhan and the adjoining districts in similar terms. Not long before his time the chief fortress of Talikhan held Chinghiz and his Tartar host at bay for six months.[1] The savage conqueror left not a living soul of the garrison, nor one stone upon another. And the present town of Talikhan, the representative of the place defended by this strong and valiant garrison, is a paltry village of some four hundred clay hovels.[2] Fyzabad, the chief city of Badakhshan, once famous over the east, was, when Wood passed through the country, to be traced only by the withered trees that had once adorned its gardens, and the present capital of the country (Jerm) was but a cluster of

[1] *D'Ohsson*, i, 273. There was another Talikhan in Khorasan, between Balkh and Merw (see tables of *Nasiruddin* in *Hudson*, iii, 107). And the authors of the Modern Universal History appear to have taken this for the city besieged by Chinghiz (*French Trans.*, iii, 356). But the narrative shows that it was Talikhan in Tokharestan, on the border of Badakhshan. Edrisi describes both cities, but curiously his French translator, M. Jaubert, takes both for the same (i, 468, 476).

[2] *Wood*, p. 241.

hamlets, containing altogether some fifteen hundred souls.[1] Enduring decay probably commenced with the wars of Chinghiz, for many an instance in eastern history shows the permanent effect of such devastations. And here wave after wave of war passed over a little country, isolated on three sides by wild mountains and barbarous tribes, destroying the apparatus of culture which represented the accumulated labour of generations, and with it the support of civilisation and the springs of recovery. Century after century only saw progress in decay. Even to our own time the process of depopulation and deterioration has continued. About 1760 two of the Khwajas of Kashgar, escaping from the dominant Chinese, took refuge in Badakhshan, and were treacherously slain by Sultan Shah who then ruled that country.[2] The holy men are said in their dying moments to have invoked curses on Badakshan and prayed that it might be three times depopulated. And, in fact, since then it has been at least three times ravaged; first, a few years after the outrage by Ahmed Shah Durani of Kabul, when the treacherous Sultan Shah was put to death; in the beginning of this century by Kokan Beg of Kunduz; and again in 1829 by his successor Murad Beg, who swept away the bulk of the remaining inhabitants, and set them down to die in the marshy plains of Kunduz.

In the time of Goës the country was probably in a middle state, not fallen so low as now, but far below what it had been in days before the Tartar invasion. Akbar had at this time withdrawn all attempt at holding territory north of the Indian Caucasus, and the Uzbeks, who in the end of the fifteenth century had expelled the house of Timur and settled in Bokhara, seem to have been in partial occupation.

Of routes over the Bolor Tagh and high table-land of Pamer between Badakhshan and Kashgar, the only notices accessible are those of the Chinese pilgrims of the early centuries,[3] the

[1] *Ditto*, p. 254.

[2] *Russians in Central Asia*, p. 186, *seqq.*; *Wood*, p. 250; *Ritter*, vol. vii; Burnes, iii, 192.

[3] Of these extracts are given in *Ritter*, vii, 493, *seqq.* I have no access at present to Hiwen Thsang.

brief but pregnant sketches of Marco Polo, so singularly corroborated even to minutiæ in our own day by Captain Wood, and these fragmentary memoranda of Benedict Goës. It seems impossible absolutely to determine the route followed by Marco, but from his mentioning a twelve days march along the lofty plain it seems probable that he followed, as certainly the ancient Chinese pilgrims did, a course running north from the head of the Oxus valley over the plateau to the latitude of Tashbalik before descending into Eastern Turkestan. Goës and his caravan, on the other hand, following what is probably the usual route of later days, would seem to have crossed athwart the Pamir, in the direction of the sources of the Yarkand river, and passing two or more of the ridges that buttress the Bolor on the east, to have descended on Yanghi-Hissar, a city intermediate between Kashgar and Yarkand. A modern caravan route, laid down by Macartney in the map attached to Elphinstone's "Caubul," seems evidently to represent the same line as that taken by our traveller's party, and both representations appear to suggest the view of its general course which has just been indicated.

The country in which Goës found himself after the passage of these mountains has been equally shut up from European access since the days of the great Mongol empires, but has become better known from Chinese sources, having been for long intervals and from a very early date under the influence of the Chinese. This region, perhaps best designated as Eastern Turkestan, but named in maps of the last century (I know not why) as "Little Bokhara," forms a great depressed valley of some four hundred miles in width from north to south, supposed by Humboldt from botanical inductions not to exceed twelve hundred feet in the absolute elevation of its lower portions. It is shut in on three sides by mountain ranges of great height, viz.: on the north by the Thian Shan or Celestial Mountains of the Chinese, separating it from the plains of the Ili, on the south by the Kuen-Lun propping the great plateau of Tibet, and on the west by the transverse chain of the Bolor dividing it from Western Turkestan. The greater part of the surface of this depression is desert, of clayey soil and stony surface towards the foot of the mountain

ranges, and of sand in the interior, which eastward accumulates into ranges of shifting sand hills. Though the air is of exceeding dryness and rain is rare, the amount of water which flows down from the snowy mountains on three sides of this valley must be considerable. The rivers carrying this, drain into the central channel of the Ergol or Tarym, which is absorbed by Lake Lop on the eastern verge of the tract, and has no further outlet, except in the legends of the Chinese which connect it by subterranean issues with the Hoang Ho. The lateral rivers afford irrigation, and patches of more or less fertile soil border the bases of the three ranges, in which cities have risen, and settled states have existed from time immemorial. Similar oases perhaps once existed nearer the centre of the plain, where Marco Polo places the city of Lop, and across which a direct road once led from the Chinese frontier to Khotan.[1] From Khotan, as from the western cities of Kashgar and Yarkand, the only communication with China now followed seems to lie through the towns that are dotted along the base of the Thian Shan.[2]

Chinese scholars date the influence of the empire in the more westerly of these states from the second century B.C. In the first century after our era they were thoroughly subjected, and the Chinese power extended even beyond the Bolor to the shores of the Caspian. The Chinese authority was subject to considerable fluctuations, but under the Thang in the seventh century we find the country east of the mountains again under Chinese governors, (whose seats are indicated as Bishbalik, Khotan, Karashahr, and Kashgar,)[3] till the decay of that dynasty in the latter part of the ninth century, and those divisions of the empire which followed, and endured till the conquest of all its sub-divisions by Chinghiz and his successors. These latter held supremacy, actual or nominal, over Eastern Turkestan as part of the early conquests of their house. They fell in China, and their Chinese successors

[1] This road is said to have been abandoned on account of the Kalmak banditti who haunted it. It seems to have been followed, as an exceptional case, by Shah Rukh's ambassadors on their return from China (see *Not. et Extraits*, xiv, Pt. i, p. 425; also p. 476).

[2] Chiefly derived from *Russians in Central Asia*.

[3] *Pauthier, Chine Ancienne*, p. 296.

of the Ming dynasty had little power beyond the frontiers of China Proper, or at most beyond the territory of Kamil.[1] The western states remained subject more or less nominally to the Khans of the eastern branch of Chagatai, whose history has been briefly traced in a previous page of this book. The government of Kashgar had always since the days of Chinghiz been conferred on a chief officer of the Khan's court. Tughlak Timur, on his accession, bestowed it on the Amir Tulak, who was succeeded by Bulaji, both being brothers of Kamaruddin, who slew Elias the son of Tughlak Timur and usurped the Khanate. Bulaji was succeeded by his son Khudáidad, of whom we have already heard (*supra*, *p.* 525). This prince ruled for many years prosperously and beneficently, holding quasi-regal power over Kashgar, Khotan, Aksu, Bai and Kucha,[2] devoting much of his revenue to pious objects, especially the redemption of Musulman captives carried off by the Mongols in their raids on Mawaralnahr. His rule

[1] The circumstance cited in a note at p. 275, *supra*, shows that, in 1419, the Chinese power did not extend to Turfan and Karakhoja. In 1605, as we shall see presently, it did not even include Kamil.

[2] "*Mai* and *Kush*," but I suppose the names in the text are those intended. For *Kucha* or *Kuchia*, see a note on Goës's journey further on. *Bai* is a town at the foot of the Thian Shan, between Aksu and Kucha, 137 miles N.E. of the former, famous now for its sheep-farming and felt manufacture. It is identified by Hugh Murray with the *Pein* of Polo; an identification followed by Pauthier, who however quotes Murray's remark, that it had "defied conjecture" (*hitherto*), without noticing that Murray had himself made the identification.

The mention of Bai here as a province coupled with Kashgar, Khotan, and Aksu, adds strongly to the probability that it is really the *Pein* of Marco. There is a difficulty in the fact that the chief circumstance he notes about Pein is the production of jasper, *i. e.* jade, in its river; and I can find no notice of this mineral being found in the *northern* affluents of the Tarim, though Timkowski does mention *wrought* jade as a staple of Aksu. Hence Ritter seeks Pein on the road from Yarkand to the Karakorum Pass, where Izzet Ullah mentions a quarry of jade, near where there is a station called Terek-lak-*Payin*. The last word, however, I believe merely means "Lower," and the position scarcely can answer Polo's description. It is possible that the province or district of Bai may have extended south of the Tarim Kul so as to embrace a part of the jaspiferous rivers of Khotan (*Murray's Polo*, ii, 32; *Pauthier's*, p. 145; *Timkowski*, i, 391; Ritter, vii, 382; *Russ. in Cent. Asia*, p. 160). *Khatiyan* and *Bahi* are mentioned in juxtaposition also by the early Arab traveller, Ibn Mohalhal, and probably indicate these same two provinces (see notes to Preliminary Essay).

lasted under the reign of four successive Khans of Eastern Chagatai. In his old age he made the pilgrimage and died at Medina.[1] His son Mahomed Shah inherited his honours, but the territories of Kashgar and Khotan had been annexed by Timur, and remained for some time subject to the descendants of that conqueror, who were in the habit of confiding those provinces to one of their own chief officers. Whilst it was administered by these, Said Ali, the son of Mahomed, made repeated attempts to recover his grandfather's dominions, and at length succeeded. It is needless to follow the history of this dynasty in further detail. During their time the country seems sometimes to have been divided into different states, of which Kashgar and Khotan were the chief, and sometimes to have been united under the prince of Kashgar. The last prince of the dynasty, Abubakr Khan, was also one of the most powerful. He reigned for forty-eight years, and made considerable conquests beyond the mountain ranges. He it was also who transferred the seat of government to Yarkand. But about 1515, Abusaid, son of Ahmed, son of Yunus Khan of Eastern Chagatai, being a refugee in Farghana, organized an expedition against Kashgar and Yarkand, which he succeeded in capturing, adding afterwards to his conquests parts of Badakhshan, of Tibet, and of Kashmir.[2] When Goës travelled through the country, the king, Mahomed Khan, whom he found upon the throne of Kashgar (of which Yarkand was now the capital) appears to have been a descendant of this Abusaid.[3] His power, we gather from Goës, extended at least over the territory of Aksu, and probably in some degree over the whole country at the base of the Thian Shan to the Chinese frontier, including Kamil; for what Goës calls the kingdom of Cialis or Chalis, embracing Karashahr and Kamil with the intermediate towns of Turfan and Pijan, was ruled by a son of the

[1] According to *Notices et Extraits* (quoted below), Khudaidad ruled for *ninety* years. He is mentioned by Shah Rukh's envoys to China, as coming to meet them near the Mongol frontier (*Not. et Extraits*, xiv, pt. i, p. 388).

[2] See *Notices et Extraits*, as quoted at p. 548.

[3] He was probably the *Mahomed Sultan*, sixth son of Abdul Rashid Khan, who is mentioned in Quatremère's extracts (see p. 548) as governing the city of Kashgar during the reign of his brother Abdulkerim, towards the end of the sixteenth century.

prince who reigned at Yarkand. Khotan appears under a separate sovereign, sister's son to the king at Yarkand, and perhaps subsidiary to him.

The rulers of Eastern Turkestan had always been Mahomedan from the time of Tughlak Timur, who was, we are told, the first Mahomedan sovereign of Kashgar of the lineage of Chinghiz. Buddhism, indeed, was found still prevalent in the cities of Turfan and Kamil at the time of the embassy of Shah Rukh in 1419, and probably did not become extinct much before the end of the century. But in the western states Islam seems to have been universal from an earlier date and maintained with fanatical zeal.[1] Saintly teachers and workers of miracles, claiming descent from Mahomed, and known as Khwajas or Hojahs, acquired great influence, and the sectaries attached to the chief of these divided the people into rival factions, whose mutual hostility eventually led to the subjugation of the whole country. For late in the seventeenth century, Hojah Appak, the leader of one of those parties called the White Mountain, having been expelled from Kashgar by Ismail Khan the chief of that state, who was a zealous supporter of the opposite party or Black Mountain, sought the aid of Galdan Khan, sovereign of the Eleuths or Kalmuks of Dzungaria. Taking the occasion so afforded, that chief in 1678 invaded the states south of the Thian Shan, carried off the Khan of Kashgar and his family, and established the Hojahs of the White Mountain over the country in authority subordinate to his own. Great discords for many years succeeded, sometimes one faction and sometimes another being uppermost, but some supremacy always continuing to be exercised by the Khans of Dzungaria. In 1757 the latter country was conquered by the Chinese, who in the following year, making a tool of the White party which was then in opposition, succeeded in bringing the states of Turkestan also under their rule. So they have continued until the present day,

[1] According to the Mecca pilgrim, whose statements are given in the *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. iv (I borrow from *Ritter*, vii, 353), there are now many Buddhist priests and temples at the capital of Khotan. But the presumption is that these have been reestablished since the revival of Chinese domination in the last century. Islam seems to have been extensively prevalent in those regions for centuries previous to the Mongols' rule, though probably the rise of the latter gave a lift to other religions.

the details of administration resting chiefly with the native authorities, but with Chinese officials in supervision, and Chinese garrisons in the chief towns and on the frontiers, the whole being under the general government of the Ili province established at Kulja on the river so called, not far from the ancient Almalik. Rebellions, however, have been very frequent and serious during the last sixty years, and a great one is now in progress of which we know little as yet.[1]

I am not in a position to say much as to the bibliography of Goës's journey. It is translated or related, I believe, in Purchas, but I have no access to a copy of the Pilgrims. An abstract of it is given in the *China Illustrata* of the garrulous old Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (pp. 62-64 *Amsterdam*, 1667), and a somewhat abridged version, with notes, in *Astley's Voyages*, which I have formerly read, but have not now by me. Ritter first in recent times took some pains to trace the route of Goës systematically, by the light of modern knowledge regarding these regions, such as it is. It will be seen by the notes that I have on various occasions ventured to differ from him.

[1] Chiefly from the *Russ. in Cent. Asia*. The history of these regions, from the fall of the Mongol dynasty in China to the events which led to the revival of the Chinese power in the last century, seems only obscurely known. The chief existing record of the history, up to the middle of the sixteenth century, is stated to be the work called *Tárîkh-Rashidi*, written by Mirza Mahomed Haidar Kurkan, Wazir of Abdul Rashid Khan of Kashgar, who came to the throne, according to Quatremère, A.H. 950= A.D. 1543 (Valikhanoff says 1554), and reigned for thirty-three years. According to Capt. Valikhanoff, the second part of this history describes the personal adventures of the author, communicating much information respecting the mountain ranges and countries adjoining Kashgar, and should contain very interesting matter. The work seems to have been little meddled with in Europe. There is a long extract, however, by Quatremère, in vol. xiv of the *Notices et Extraits*, pp. 474-489, from the Persian geography called *Haft Iklím* (Seven Climates), but which is derived from the Tarikh Rashidi, and partly it would seem from a somewhat later source, as Abdul Rashid's son, Abdul Kerim, is spoken of as then reigning. This extract has furnished most of the particulars in the preceding paragraphs of the text. Valikhanoff also speaks of a manuscript history of the Hojahs, down to the capture of Yarkand by the Chinese in 1758, called *Tiaskarai Hojaghian*, which he obtained at Kashgar. From this apparently he derives the particulars which he gives regarding those persons and their factions (*R. in Cent. Asia*, pp. 69, 167 *seqq.*; *Notices et Extraits*, u. s.).

THE JOURNEY OF BENEDICT GOËS TO CATHAY;

FROM CHAPTERS XI, XII, AND XIII OF THE WORK ENTITLED "DE CHRISTIANA EXPEDITIONE APUD SINAS, SUSCEPTA AB SOCIETATE JESU, EX P. MATTHÆI RICII COMMENTARIIS, ETC., AUCTORE P. NICOLAO TRIGAUTIO." AUGUST. VIND., 1615.

CHAP. XI.

How the Portuguese, Benedict Goës, a member of our Society, is sent to find out about Cathay.

LETTERS from those members of the Society who were living at the Court of the Mogul brought to Western India[1] some news regarding that famous empire which the Mahomedans called CATHAY, the name of which was once familiar to Europe through the story of Marcus Paulus the Venetian, but had in the lapse of ages so fallen out of remembrance that people scarcely believed in the existence of such a country. The substance of what the Fathers wrote from time to time was, that the empire of Cathay lay towards the east, somewhat further north than the kingdom of the Mogul; and that they had reason to believe that many professors of the Christian faith were to be found in it, with churches, priests, and sacraments. On this Father Nicolas

[1] Literally, "From the letters of the members dwelling at the court of *Mogor*, it was heard in *India*." With the missionaries of this age, and the Portuguese, *India* meant Goa and the Western Coast (just as with the Dutch now India means Java and Sumatra); Hindustan Proper and the dominions of the *Mogul* were called Mogor.

Pimenta the Portuguese, who was Visitor of the Society in the East Indies, became greatly taken up with the desire of establishing a field of labour for our Society among that people; all the more because it might well be supposed that Christians separated from their head by such vast distances must have fallen into sundry errors. Hence he thought it well to communicate on the matter both with the Pope and with His most Catholic Majesty.[1] And by the King's command, accordingly, despatches were sent to the Viceroy, then Arias Saldanha, desiring him to support the expedition proposed by the Visitor with both money and countenance; an order which he carried out, and more, as might indeed have been expected from the favourable disposition that he entertained both towards the propagation of the faith, and towards our Order in particular. The Visitor proceeded to select for the exploration one of our Brethren called Benedict Goës, a Portuguese by nation, and an eminently pious and sensible man, who from his long residence in the Mogul's territories, had an accurate knowledge of the Persian tongue, and a thorough acquaintance with Mahomedan customs, two qualifications which appeared to be indispensable for any one attempting this journey.

Our brethren had heard indeed, by extracts of Father Matthew's letters from the capital of China, that Cathay was but another name for the Chinese empire, (a fact which has been established by various arguments in a previous part of this book). But as quite an opposite view was taken in the letters of the Fathers at the Mogul's court, the Visitor first wavered and then inclined to the opinions of the latter; for whilst he found it distinctly stated in regard to Cathay that a considerable number of Mahomedans were to be met with there, it had come to be considered an established fact that the follies of that sect had never found their way to China. Moreover, whilst it was denied that there ever

[1] Philip III.

had been a vestige of Christianity in China, the positive assertions of the Mahomedan eye-witnesses were held to put beyond question its existence in the country called Cathay. It was suggested that the name of an empire conterminous with China might have been extended also to the latter; and it was decided that the investigation should be carried out, so as both to remove all shadow of doubt, and to ascertain whether a shorter line of communication with China could not be established.

As regards the Christians who were held so positively to exist in Cathay (*i.e.* as we shall see by and by in *China*), either the Mahomedan informants simply lied, as they have a way of doing, or they were misled by some superficial indications. For as they themselves never pay respect to images of any kind, when they saw in the Chinese temples a number of images not altogether unlike our representations of the Mother of God and some of the Saints, they may possibly have thought that the religion of the country was all one with Christianity. They would also see both lamps and wax lights placed upon the altars; they would see those heathen priests robed in the sacred vestments which our books of ritual call *Pluvials*; processions of suppliants just like ours; chaunting in a style almost exactly resembling the Gregorian chaunts in our churches; and other parallels of the same nature, which have been introduced among them by the devil, clumsily imitating holy things and grasping at the honours due to God. All these circumstances might easily lead a parcel of traders, especially if Mahomedans, to regard the people as professors of Christianity.[1]

[1] So easily that the alternative supposition might have been spared. The like confusion has often occurred, and the Jesuits themselves have here shown why. According to De Guignes, the Chinese describe the sovereign and people of the (Eastern) Roman Empire as worshippers of *Fo*, or Buddha, and as putting his image on their coins. De Gama, in his report of the various eastern kingdoms of which he heard at Calicut, describes the Buddhist countries of Pegu, etc., as Christian. Clavijo sets

So our Benedict began to prepare for his journey, and assumed both the dress and the name of an Armenian Christian merchant, calling himself Abdula, which signifies *Servant of the Lord*, with the addition of *Isái* or the Christian.[1] And he got from the Mogul king, Akbar by name, who was friendly to the brethren and above all to Benedict himself, sundry rescripts addressed to various Princes known to be either friends or tributaries of his. So he was to pass for an Armenian, for in that character he would be allowed to travel freely, whilst if known as a Spaniard he was certain to be stopped.[2] He also carried with him a variety of wares, both that he might maintain himself by selling them, and to keep up his character as a merchant. There was a large supply of these wares both from (western) India, and from the Mogul dominions, provided at the expense of the Viceroy of India, aided by contributions also from Akbar himself. Father Jerome Xavier, who had for many years been at the head of the Mogul mission, appointed two men acquainted with those countries to be the comrades of his journey. One, for Benedict's

down the king and people of India as Christians of the Greek faith, and heard that the Emperor of Cathay was a Christian also. The Tartars, whom Josaphat Barbaro met at Tana, assured him that the inhabitants of Cathay were Christians, because "they had images in their temples as we have." Anthony Jenkinson's party were told at Bokhara, in 1559, that the religion of the people of Cathay was that of the Christians, or very nearly so (see also *supra*, p. 205, a note from Quatremère). When Dr. Richardson and Capt. Macleod, in their explorations of the states east of Burma, fell in with Chinese traders, these generally claimed them as of their own religion.

[1] Jarric says the name bestowed on him by Xavier was "*Branda* Abedula, *i. e.*, Servant of the Lord." I do not know what the first word is meant for.

[2] "He adopted the common Armenian costume, viz., a long frock and turban, with a scymitar, bow, and quiver, this being a dress usually worn by merchants, but yet such as marked him for a Christian" (*Jarric*). He allowed his hair and beard to grow long, as was the practice of merchants. He was often, however, on the journey, as his letters mentioned, taken for a *Saida* (Syad), or descendant of Mahomed (*Ib.*).

comfort, was a priest, by name Leo Grimanus, the other a merchant called Demetrius.[1] There were also four servants, Mahomedans by birth and former profession, but converted to Christianity. All of these servants however he discharged as useless when he got to LAHORE (the second capital of the Mogul), and took in lieu of them a single Armenian, Isaac by name, who had a wife and family at Lahore. This Isaac proved the most faithful of all his comrades, and stuck to him throughout the whole journey, a regular *fidus Achates*. So our brother took leave of his superior, and set out, as appears from the letter of instructions, on the sixth of January in the third year of this century (1603).[2]

Every year a company of merchants is formed in that capital to proceed to the capital of another territory with a king of its own, called CASCAR.[3] These all take the road together, either for the sake of mutual comfort or for protection against robbers. They numbered in the present case about five hundred persons, with a great number of mules, camels, and carts. So he set out from Lahore in this way during Lent of the year just mentioned,[4] and after a month's travelling they came to a town called ATHEC,[5] still within the province of Lahore. After (a halt of) about a fortnight they crossed a river of a bowshot in width, boats being provided at the passage for the accommodation of the merchants. On the opposite bank of the river they halted for five days,

[1] The former is probably the same person who is mentioned by Jarric as "the subdeacon Leo Grymonius, a clever and experienced man," a Greek by nation, who was sent by Akbar on a mission to Goa about 1590 (ii, 529).

[2] The instructions were probably sent after him to Lahore, for we have seen that according to another and probably more correct statement he set out on the 31st October, and reached Lahore 8th December, 1602. As instructed, he did not put up at the church at Lahore, then occupied by the Jesuits Emanuel Pinner and Francis Corsi, but at the house of John Galisci, a Venetian (*Jarric*).

[3] Kashgar.

[4] Easter in 1603 was 30th March, N.S.

[5] Attok, on the Indus.

having received warning that a large body of robbers was threatening the road, and then after two months they arrived at another city called PASSAUR:[1] and there they halted twenty days for needful repose. Further on, whilst on their way to another small town, they fell in with a certain pilgrim and devotee, from whom they learned that at a distance of thirty days' journey there was a city called CAPPERSTAM, into which no Mahomedan was allowed to enter, and if one did get in he was punished with death. There was no hindrance offered to the entrance of *heathen* merchants into the cities of those people, only they were not allowed to enter the temples. He related also that the inhabitants of that country never visited their temples except in black dresses; and that their country was extremely productive, abounding especially in grapes. He offered our brother Benedict a cup of the produce, and he found it to be wine like our own; and as such a thing is quite unusual among the Mahomedans of those regions, a suspicion arose that perhaps the country was inhabited by Christians.[2] In the place where they met

[1] Peshawur. For two *months* read two *marches*, see p. 538 *supra*. These halts of twenty days, thirty days, all look suspicious. Some mistaken interpretation is probably at the bottom of the difficulty.

[2] The "city called Capperstam" represents KAFIRISTAN, the hill country occupied by the fair race called by the Mahomedans *Kafirs*, or infidels, of whom we still know extremely little. Some of them, at least, are called *Siyaposh*, or black-clothed (like the Scythian *Melanchlæni* of Herodotus, iv, 107), from their wearing black goat-skins. The abundance of grapes and wine among them is noticed by Elphinstone (ii, 375) and Wood. Sultan Baber also says: "So prevalent is the use of wine among them, that every Kafir has a *Khig*, or leathern bottle of wine, about his neck; they drink wine instead of water" (p. 144). Timur, before entering Afghanistan, on his march towards India, sent an expedition against the Siyaposh; and himself led one against another section of the Kafirs, the members of which, according to his historian, went quite naked. To reach these he crossed the snowy mountain *Kataur*. This is the name of one of the Kafir tribes in Elphinstone, and *Shah Kataur* is a title still affected by the Chief of Chitral, according to Burnes. Chinghiz also after his campaign in the region of the Hindu Kush, is stated to have wintered in the mountains of *Buya Kataur*. Thence he

with that wanderer they halted for twenty days more, and as the road was reported to be infested with brigands they got an escort of four hundred soldiers from the lord of the place. From this they travelled in twenty-five days to a place called GHIDELI.[1] In the whole of this journey the baggage and

attempted to reach Mongolia by Tibet (probably by the passes of Karakorum), but failed, and had to go round by Bamian. Akbar and Nadir Shah also undertook expeditions against the Kafirs, both unsuccessfully (*H. de Timur Bec.*, iii, 14-21; *D'Ohsson*, i, 319; *Elphinstone's Caubul*, ii, 376, 381; *Ritter*, vii, 207).

Kafiristan has lately been visited by two native missionaries, employed under the agents of the Church Missionary Society at Peshawar, and some account of their experiences has been published, but it does not amount to much. The chastity and honesty of the people are lauded. Those of the same village entertain a strong feeling of kindred, so that neither fighting nor marrying among themselves is admissible. But the different tribes or villages are often at war with each other, and then to kill men or women of an alien tribe is the road to honour. They have no temples, priests, or books. They believe that there is one God, but keep three idols whom they regard as intercessors with him. One of these, called *Palishanu*, is roughly carved in wood, with silver eyes; he is resorted to in excess or defect of rain, or in epidemic sickness. Goats are sacrificed, and the blood sprinkled on the idol. Women must not approach it. The other two idols are common stones. Goats' flesh is the chief food of the people, and occasionally partridges and deer; but fowls, eggs, and fish are not used. They have no horses, donkeys, or camels, only a few oxen and buffaloes, and a few dogs. "They drink wine in large quantities, and very nasty it is, if what was brought down to Peshawar may be taken as a specimen;" but none were seen drunk. Their drinking-vessels were of curiously wrought pottery, and occasionally of silver. They live to a great age, and continue hale till the day of death. "The men are somewhat dark, but the women are said to be as fair as Europeans, and very beautiful, with red cheeks." The men hardly ever wash either their clothes or their persons. In talking they shout with all their might. They bury their dead with coffins, in caves among the hills. (From *Christian Work*, September 1865, p. 421).

Leech, in his Report on the Passes of Hindu Kush, mentions that *smiths* are regarded by the Kafirs as natural bondsmen, and are occasionally brought for sale to the Musulman people of the valleys; also, that the oath of peace of the Kafirs consists in licking a piece of salt. This last was also the oath of the Kasias on the eastern frontier of Bengal, in whose country I spent some time many years ago.

[1] George Forster was, on the 31st July, at Gandamak; on the 1st of August he rested at *Djeguid-'Ali* (I am using a French version, and do not know how Forster spells it); next day he got to Kabul. I suspect

packs were carried along the foot of the hills, whilst the merchants, arms in hand, kept a look out for the robbers from the hill-top.[1] For these latter are in the habit of rolling stones down upon travellers, unless these are beforehand with them on the heights, and meeting violence by violence drive them away. At this place the merchants pay a toll, and here the robbers made an onslaught. Many of the company were wounded, and life and property were saved with difficulty. Our Benedict fled with the rest into the jungle, but coming back at night they succeeded in getting away from the robbers. After twenty days more they reached CABUL, a city greatly frequented for trade, and still within the territories subject to the Mogul. Here our friends halted altogether for eight months. For some of the merchants laid aside the intention of going any further, and the rest were afraid to go on in so small a body.

At this same city the company of merchants was joined by the sister of that very King of Cascar, through whose territory it was needful to pass on the way to Cathay. The king's name is Maffamet Can; his sister was the mother of another king, entitled the Lord of COTAN, and she herself was called Áge Hanem.[2] *Age* is a title with which the Saracens decorate those who go on pilgrimage to the im-

that this *Djeguid-Ali* is the *Ghideli* of Goës, and that both represent the *nomen infelix* of Jugdulluk (*Jour. from Bengal to Petersburg*, French version by *Langlès*, ii, 52). The preceding town, where Goës's party got an escort, was probably Jalalabad. The exaggerated interpretation of the times occupied in the march must be kept in mind, whatever be the cause of the error. According to the text, Goës was forty-five days + *x* in getting from Peshawar to Kabul. Forster's account makes him only seven days; Wood, with Burnes, was nineteen days, but with halts included.

[1] The neglect of this same practice of "crowning the heights" caused grievous disaster in those very passes, in the first attempt to relieve the "Illustrious Garrison" of Jalalabad in 1841.

[2] *Hajji-Khanum*, "The Pilgrim Princess." Jarric calls her *Ahehaxam*, *i. e.*, in the Turkish tongue, "*Beauty coming down from Mecca.*" (?) The king's name is, of course, Mahomed Khan; his sister's son, the Lord of Khotan, south-east of Kashgar and Yarkand.

postor's carcase at Mecha. In fact she was now on her return from that immense journey to Mecha, which she had performed for the sake of her blasphemous creed; and having run short of money she came to seek assistance from the merchants, and promised that she would honestly repay their advances with ample interest on reaching her territory. This seemed to our brother an opportunity not to be lost of obtaining the favour of the king of another kingdom, for now the efficacy of the Mogul's orders was coming to an end. So he made her an advance of about six hundred pieces of gold from the sale of his goods, and refused to allow interest to be stipulated in the bond. She would not, however, let herself be outdone in liberality, for she afterwards paid him in pieces of that kind of marble which is so highly esteemed among the Chinese, and which is the most profitable of all investments that one can take to Cathay.

From this place the Priest Leo Grymanus went back, being unable to stand the fatigues of the journey; and his comrade Demetrius stopped behind in the town on account of some business. So our brother set out, attended by no one but the Armenian, in the caravan with the other merchants. For some others had now joined them, and it was thought that they could proceed with safety.

The first town that they came to was CIARAKÁR, a place where there is great abundance of iron.[1] And here Benedict was subjected to a great deal of annoyance. For in those outskirts of the Mogul's dominions no attention was paid to the king's *firman*, which had hitherto given him immunity from exactions of every kind. Ten days later they got to a

[1] *Charekar*, at the head of the Koh-Daman valley, north of Kabul, famous in our own day for the gallant defence made there by Eldred Pottinger, and Haughton, during the Kabul outbreak. It is mentioned by Ibn Batuta as *Charkh*. Leech, in his Report on the Passes, calls it *Charka*.

It is to be recollected that the names in the text are all spelt by Ricci after the Italian fashion.

little town called PARUÁN,[1] and this was the last in the Mogul's territories. After five days' repose they proceeded to cross over very lofty mountains by a journey of twenty days, to the district called AINGHARÀN,[2] and after fifteen days

[1] *Parwán*, in a nook of the Hindu Kush, has, from its position near the terminus of several of the chief passes, often been famous in Asiatic history. It is evidently the *Karwan* of Jaubert's Edrisi (a mistranscription for *Farwan*)—"The town of Farwán is of no great size, but a nice enough place with agreeable environs, thronged bazars, and rich inhabitants. The houses are of clay and brick. It is situated on the banks of the river Banjhir (*Panjshir*). This town is one of the principal markets of India" (i, p. 477). At Parwán the army of Chinghiz was checked for the moment in 1221, being defeated by the Sultan Jalaluddin of Khwarizm. And in an action near Parwan in 1840 took place the ominous misconduct of a regiment of Bengal cavalry, which caused the day to be lost, with the lives of several valuable officers, though Dost Mahomed Khan surrendered immediately afterwards.

[2] Here the great number of days occupied in the various portions of the journey is perplexing in the detail as well as erroneous in the total (as we have seen it to be). Goës and his party are made to take seventy-five days from Kabul to Talhan (the identity of which can scarcely be doubtful), a journey which could scarcely have occupied more than sixteen to twenty at most.

Wood, in his unsuccessful attempt to cross one of the Passes of Parwan (perhaps that followed by Goës), on the second day reached the village I-ANGHERAN, and Ahingaran is also mentioned in Leech's Report as a village on one of the passes from Parwan at twenty-six miles from the entrance of the pass. But this place is on the *south* side of the mountains, whilst the Aingharan of Goës is on the north. Either it has been confounded with *Andarab*, or as is very possible the name, which I suppose is *Ahan-gharán*, "The Iron-Mines," recurs. Indeed just before receiving the proof of this sheet I have observed the recurrence of the name in another locality, suggesting a different view of Goës's route over the mountains, for which I refer to the note on the Passes at the end. *Calcia*, (Kalsha, Kalacha, Kilasiya?) is a great difficulty, as it was evidently a place of some importance, but no place of the name can be traced. *Khulum* however appears to have been in the possession of a family called Khallach or Killich, and it is possible that that town may be meant (see *Elphinstone's Caubul*, ii, 196; also *Burnes*, iii). I must not, however, omit to mention that on the north side of the Oxus in this longitude, occupying part of the hill-country east of Bokhara, there is a poor but independent people of Persian race called *Ghalchas*. Meyendorff calls them very swarthy, but Valikhanoff says expressly: "The Tajiks have dark complexions and hair, whilst fair people are found among the Ghalcha." This might explain the yellow-haired people mentioned by Goës, and his use of the expression *Calciensium*

more they reached CALCIA. There is a people here with yellow hair and beard like the people of the Low Countries, who occupy sundry hamlets about the country. After ten days more they came to a certain place called GIALALABATH. Here are brahmans who exact a toll under a grant made to them by the King of Bruarata.[1] In fifteen days more they came to TALHAN, where they halted for a month, deterred by the civil wars that were going on; for the roads were said to be unsafe on account of the rebellion of the people of Calcia.[2]

From this they went on to CHEMÀN,[3] a place under Abdulahan King of Samarkan, Burgavia, Bacharata,[4] and other

Populos. But I cannot well see how his Calcia should be beyond the Oxus, nor find any evidence of Ghalchas south of that river. *Gaoloshan* in the Chinese tables, which is nearer Calcia than any other name, is placed 1° 36′ west of Badakhshan and 0° 26′ north of it. This indication also points to the north of the Oxus, about twenty miles due north of Hazrat Imam (see *Meyendorff*, p. 132; *Russ. in Cent. Asia*, p. 65; *Amyot, Memoires*, tom. i, p. 399). If Calcia, however, be Khulum, *Jalalabad* must then be sought between Khulum and Talikhan, about Kunduz or Aliabad, if not identical with one of these.

[1] *Bruarata* is almost certainly a misreading for *Bacharata*, the term used further on for *Bokhara*.

[2] *Talhan* is the first terra firma in the narrative since quitting Parwan. It is doubtless Talikhan, about fifty miles east of Kunduz, and has been spoken of in the Introductory Notice (p. 541). It is mentioned by Marco Polo under the name of *Taikan* (ii, ch. 22).

[3] I cannot say what place this is. Hazrat *Imám* on the Oxus appears too much out of the way. But Wood mentions, at the junction of the Kokcha with the Oxus, due north of Talikhan, a mountain which he calls *I-Khanam* (*Koh-i-Khanam?* "Hill of Khanam"): "Immediately below I-Khanam, on its east side, the ground is raised into low swelling ridges. Here, we were informed, stood an ancient city called Barbarrah, and there is a considerable extent of mud-walls standing which the Tajiks think are vestiges of the old city, but which are evidently of a comparatively modern era." It is possible that this was *Khanam*, and the *Cheman* of Goës.

[4] *Burgavia* is probably a misprint for *Burgania* (as Astley in his version has indeed printed it), and intended for *Farghana*. The prince is then Abdulla Khan, King of Samarkand, Bokhara and Farghana. The reigning sovereign at this time, according to Deguignes (i, 291-2) was Abdul Mumin of the Uzbek house of Shaibek, which had reigned for a century in Mawaralnahr.

adjoining kingdoms. It is a small town, and the governor sent to the merchants to advise them to come within the walls, as outside they would not be very safe from the Calcia insurgents. The merchants, however, replied that they were willing to pay toll, and would proceed on their journey by night. The governor of the town then absolutely forbade their proceeding, saying that the rebels of Calcia as yet had no horses, but they would get them if they plundered the caravan, and would thus be able to do much more damage to the country, and be much more troublesome to the town; it would be a much safer arrangement if they would join his men in beating off the Calcia people. They had barely reached the town walls when a report arose that the Calcia people were coming! On hearing this the bragging governor and his men took to their heels. The merchants on the spur of the moment formed a kind of intrenchment of their packs, and collected a great heap of stones inside in case their arrows should run short. When the Calcia people found this out, they sent a deputation to the merchants to tell them to fear nothing, for they would themselves escort and protect the caravan. The merchants, however, were not disposed to put trust in these insurgents, and after holding counsel together flight was determined on. Somebody or other made this design known to the rebels, upon which immediately they made a rush forward, knocked over the packs, and took whatever they liked. These robbers then called the merchants out of the jungle (into which they had fled) and gave them leave to retire with the rest of their property within the empty city walls. Our Benedict lost nothing but one of his horses, and even that he afterwards got back in exchange for some cotton cloths. They remained in the town in a great state of fear lest the rebels should make a general attack and massacre the whole of them. But just then a certain leading chief, by name Olobet Ebadascan, of the Buchara country, sent his brother to the rebels, and he by

threats induced them to let the merchants go free.[1] Throughout the whole journey, however, robbers were constantly making snatches at the tail of the caravan. And once it befel our friend Benedict that he had dropped behind the party and was attacked by four brigands who had been lying *perdus*. The way he got off from them was this: he snatched off his Persian cap and flung it at the thieves, and whilst they were making a football of it our brother had time to spur his horse and get a bowshot clear of them, and so safely joined the rest of the company.

After eight days of the worst possible road, they reached the TENGI BADASCIAN. *Tengi* signifies a difficult road; and it is indeed fearfully narrow, giving passage to only one at a time, and running at a great height above the bed of a river. The townspeople here, aided by a band of soldiers, made an attack upon the merchants, and our brother lost three horses. These, however, also, he was enabled to ransom with some small presents. They halted here ten days, and then in one day's march reached CIARCIUNAR, where they were detained five days in the open country by rain, and suffered not only from the inclemency of the weather, but also from another onslaught of robbers.

From this in ten days they reached SERPANIL; but this was a place utterly desolate and without a symptom of human occupation; and then they came to the ascent of the steep mountain called SACRITHMA. None but the stoutest of the horses could face this mountain; the rest had to pass by a roundabout but easier road. Here two of our brother's

[1] There are some doubtful points in reading this. In Trigautius the sentence runs: "*Misit duo quidam e maximis, nomine* Olobet Ebadascan, *Bucharatis regione fratrem suum, qui* minus *Calcienses rebelles adegit ut negotiatores liberos abire permitterent*," where Olobet Ebadascan ('Ala-Beg Ibadat Khan?) is treated as one name. Perhaps however the original ran, "Olobet e Badascan"—"a chief by name 'Alá-Beg (or Wali-Beg) of Badakshan, a country under Bokhara." In the latter clause I have supposed *minus* to be a misprint for *minis*; otherwise it must be "induced the less rebellious of the Calcha people," which would be awkward.

mules went lame, and the weary servants wanted to let them go, but after all they were got to follow the others. And so, after a journey of twenty days, they reached the province of SARCIL, where they found a number of hamlets near together. They halted there two days to rest the horses, and then in two days more reached the foot of the mountain called CIECIALITH. It was covered deep with snow, and during the ascent many were frozen to death, and our brother himself barely escaped, for they were altogether six days in the snow here. At last they reached TANGHETAR, a place belonging to the Kingdom of Cascar. Here Isaac the Armenian fell off the bank of a great river into the water, and lay as it were dead for some eight hours till Benedict's exertions at last brought him to. In fifteen days more they reached the town of IAKONICH, and the roads were so bad that six of our brother's horses died of fatigue. After five days more our Benedict going on by himself in advance of the caravan reached the capital, which is called HIARCHAN, and sent back horses to help on his party with necessaries for his comrades. And so they also arrived not long after safe at the capital, with bag and baggage, in November of the same year 1603.[1]

[1] The places named in the preceding paragraphs continue to present some difficulty, but in a somewhat less degree than those lately encountered.

The *Tangi-i-Badakhshan*, "Straits or Defiles of Badakhshan," I should look for along the Oxus in Darwaz and Shagnan, where the paths appear, from what Wood heard, to be much more difficult and formidable than that which he followed, crossing from the Kokcha at Fyzabad to the Upper Oxus in Wakhan, where again the latter river runs in a comparatively open valley. The title is well illustrated by Marco Polo's expressions: "En cest regne (de Balacian) a *maint estroit pas moult mauvois* et si fort que il n'ont doute de nullui" (*Pauthier's Ed.*, p. 121). *Ciarciunar* is, I suppose, unquestionably the Persian CHAR CHINAR, "The four plane-trees." This (Chárchinár) is actually the name of an island in the Lake of Kashmir, formerly conspicuous for its four great plane-trees (see *Forster's Journey*). *Serpanil*, desolate and without human habitation, I take to be probably SIR-I-PAMIR, "The head or top of Pamir," the celebrated plateau from which the Oxus, Jaxartes, Rivers of Yarkand and Kashgar, and the Gilgit branch of the Indus derive their headwaters. The anomalous name

CHAPTER XII.

The remainder of the Journey to Cathay, and how it is ascertained to be all the same as the Chinese empire.

HIARCHAN, the capital of the kingdom of Cascar, is a mart of much note, both for the great concourse of merchants, and

Sacrithma may represent a station which appears in Macartney's map on the mountains near the head of the Oxus as SARIKBABB. Wilford makes some wild work with this name Sacrithma, quoting Goës, in his essay on the "Isles of the West" in vol. viii of the *As. Researches*. The ridge to which Goës applies the name must be that which separates the Sirikul from the headwaters of the Yarkand River. *Sarcil* may then be, as Ritter surmised, the district of SARIKUL near the said headwaters (see *Russ. in Cent. Asia*, p. 157; *Ritter*, vii, 489, 505; iii, 635). *Ciecialith* (*i.e.* Chechalit) is then without doubt that spur of the Bolor running out towards Yarkand, which appears on some recent maps of Asia as the CHICHECK TAGH, and in Klaproth's map cited by Ritter as *Tchetchetlagh*, immediately north of Sarikul. The passage of this great spur is shown very distinctly in a route laid down in Macartney's map (in *Elphinstone's Caubul*), only the author supposed it to be the main chain of the Kara Korum. Macartney terms the *Col* of which Goës gives so formidable an account, the *Pass of Chiltung*, and a station at the northern side of it CHUKAKLEE, which is probably the Chechalith of our traveller.

Tanghetar I had supposed to be a mistranscription for *Yanghesar*, *i.e.* Ingachar or YANGI-HISAR, an important town forty-seven miles S.E. of Kashgar on the road from that city to Yarkand, an error all the more probable as we have Tusce for Yusce a little further on. *Tungeetar*, however, appears in Macartney's map, and immediately beyond he represents the road as bifurcating towards Kashgar and Yarkand. It must in any case be near Yengi-Hisar if not identical with it. *Yaconic* I cannot trace.

Ritter is led by the slight resemblance of names to identify the Charchunar of Goës with Karchu, near the upper waters of the Yarkand, and this mistake, as it seems to me, deranges all his interpretation of the route of Goës between Talikan and Sarikul.

Goës in a letter from Yarkand to Agra spoke of the great difficulties and fatigues encountered in crossing this desert of *Pamech* (PAMIR), in which he had lost five horses by the cold. So severe was it, he said, that animals could scarcely breathe the air, and often died in consequence. As an antidote to this (which, of course, was the effect of attenuated atmosphere rather than of cold) the men used to eat garlic, leeks, and dried apples, and the horses' gums were rubbed with garlic. This desert took

for the variety of wares. At this capital the caravan of Cabul merchants reaches its terminus; and a new one is formed for the journey to Cathay. The command of this caravan is sold by the king, who invests the chiefs with a kind of royal authority over the merchants for the whole journey.[1] A twelvemonth passed away however before the new company was formed, for the way is long and perilous, and the caravan is not formed every year, but only when a large number arrange to join it, and when it is known that they will be allowed to enter Cathay. There is no article of traffic more valuable, or more generally adopted as an investment for this journey, than lumps of a certain transparent kind of marble which we, from poverty of language, usually call jasper. They carry these to the Emperor of Cathay, attracted by the high prices which he deems it obligatory on his dignity to give; and such pieces as the Emperor does not fancy they are free to dispose of to private individuals. The profit on these transactions is so great that it is thought amply to compensate for all the fatigue and expense of the journey. Out of this marble they fashion a variety of articles, such as vases, and brooches for mantles and girdles, which when artistically sculptured in flowers and foliage certainly have an effect of no small magnificence. These marbles (with which the empire is now overflowing) are called by the Chinese Iusce.[2] There are two kinds of it; the first and

forty days to cross if the snow was extensive (*Jarric*). Forty days is the time assigned by Polo also to the passage of this lofty region (ii, 27).

[1] Jarric, from the letters which Goës wrote from Yarkand in February and August, 1604, mentions that the chief whom he eventually accompanied paid the king two hundred bags of musk for the nomination. Four others were associated with him as envoys; and one hundred and seventy-two merchants, who purchased this privilege from the chief at a high price, insomuch that he cleared a large amount by the transaction.

[2] The word as printed in Trigantius is *Tusce*, but this is certainly a mistake for Iusce, *i.e.* *Yushé* or "Yu stone," the Chinese name of the oriental jade, the *Yashm* of Western Asiatics (see p. 130 *supra*).

The description in the text of the double source of supply of jade is per-

more valuable is got out of the river of Cotan, not far from the capital, almost in the same way in which divers fish for gems, and this is usually extracted in pieces about as big as large flints. The other and inferior kind is excavated from the mountains; the larger masses are split into slabs some two ells broad and these are then reduced to a size adapted for carriage. That mountain is some twenty days' journey from this capital (i.e., Yarkand) and is called CANSANGHI CASCIO, i.e., the Stone Mountain, being very probably the mountain which is so termed in some of the geographical descriptions of this empire. The extraction of these blocks is a work involving immense labour, owing to the hardness of the substance as well as to the remote and lonely position of the place. They say that the stone is sometimes softened by the application of a blazing fire on the surface. The right of quarrying here is also sold by the king at a high price to some merchant, without whose license no other speculators can dig there during the term of the lease. When a party of workmen goes thither they take a year's provisions along with them, for they do not usually revisit the populated districts at a shorter interval.

Our brother Benedict went to pay his respects to the king, whose name was Mahomed Khan.[1] The present that he

fectly in accordance with the Chinese authorities, one kind being fished up in boulder form by divers, from the rivers on each side of the chief city of Khotan, which are called respectively Yurung-Kash and Kara-Kash (White Jade and Black Jade), and the other kind quarried in large masses from the mountain called *Mirjai*, which is stated by a Chinese writer to be two hundred and thirty *li* (about seventy miles) from Yarkand. From the mention of a jade quarry by Mir Izzet Ullah, about half-way from the Kara Korum Pass to Yarkand it is probable that the Mirjai mountain is to be sought thereabouts (see *Ritter* vii, 380-389). Ritter will have the *Can-sangui-Cascio* of our text to be a mistake for *Karangui-Tagh*, the name which he finds applied to the range in which the rivers of Khotan spring, probably a part of the Kuen-Lun. But the words are Persian, *Kán-sang-i-Kásh*, "The mine of Kash (or Jade) Stone," *Kash* being the Turki word for that mineral.

[1] In orig. *Mahamethin*, for *Mahamethan*. A letter which Goës wrote to Xavier from Yarkand, 2d February, 1604, mentioned that the excitement

carried with him secured him a good reception, for it consisted of a pocket watch, looking glasses, and other European curiosities, with which the king was so charmed and delighted that he adopted the giver at once into his friendship and patronage. Our friend did not at first disclose his desire to go to Cathay, but spoke only of the kingdom of Cialis, to the eastward of Cascar, and begged a royal passport for the journey thither. His request was strongly backed by the son of that pilgrim queen to whom he had lent six hundred pieces of gold.[1] And he also came to be on intimate terms with divers gentlemen of the court.

created in the city by the announcement of the arrival of an Armenian *Rumi* who did not follow the Law of Islam, was so great that he thought it desirable to pay his respects to the king, and he was well received. The vizir having been attracted by a cross and a book of the Gospels (apparently a breviary) which he saw among the baggage, Benedict was desired to produce these at a second audience. The king received the book with much reverence, and directed Goës (to his great joy) to read a passage and explain its meaning. He turned up at a venture the anthem for Ascension Day, *Viri Galilæi quid statis aspicientes in Cælum?* and then, in deep emotion at an opportunity so unlooked for, proceeded to declare the glorious Ascension of the Saviour before those Mahomedans; adding also some remarks on the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost, and on the Advent of Christ to judgment. Opening the book a second time he read the 50th (our 51st) Psalm, and took occasion from it to speak of repentance. The bearded doctors of the law regarded one another with astonishment, and the king also expressed his surprise. The latter then requested to see the cross; and asked "To what quarter did the Christians turn in prayer?" To all, said Benedict, for God is everywhere. Did they use any washings and ceremonial ablutions? None corporeal, said he, like those of the Mahomedans, to wash away the stains of sin, for these were of no profit to the soul; but spiritual washings, by which souls are cleansed from sin's foulness: an answer which seemed to give satisfaction.

On another occasion (for he was often called to the palace) the king showed him papers inscribed in a certain round and vermiculate character, and asked what they were. Goës when he had read them (in what language is not stated) found them to treat of the Trinity, and took occasion therefrom to speak of the Divine greatness and Omnipotence, etc. So much did they all admire what he said, that in turn they began to ask "And are these the men whom we have called Kafirs? Of a truth they acknowledge God as well as we." And the king said "Surely it is a Mullah that is speaking!" (*Jarric*).

This Prince of Khotan had come to Yarkand to meet his mother, and showed Benedict much courtesy and gratitude for the aid rendered her at

Six months had passed away when behold Demetrius, one of the original comrades of his journey, who had stayed behind at Cabul, arrived at Hiarchan. Benedict and Isaac the Armenian, were greatly delighted at his arrival; but their joy was of short continuance, for very soon after this Demetrius caused our friend a great deal of trouble. At that time, with the king's leave, one of the merchants was elected mock emperor, whilst all the rest, according to a custom of theirs, paid homage to him and offered him presents. Demetrius, to save his pocket, held back; and as the emperor had the power of putting rebels against his authority in irons, or even of flogging them, Demetrius had great difficulty in escaping both penalties. Our Benedict, however, by his good management, arranged the whole matter, for his intercession and a small present got pardon for Demetrius. A greater peril also befel the party, when thieves broke into the house, and laid hold of the Armenian whom they tied up, putting a dagger to his throat to prevent his giving the alarm. The noise however roused Benedict and Demetrius, and the robbers made off.

On another occasion Benedict had gone away to get his loan repaid by the mother of the Prince of QUOTAN.[1] Her capital was ten days' journey distant, and what with going and coming, a month had passed and he was still absent. So the Saracens took occasion by this to spread false reports of Benedict's being dead, alleging him to have been put to

Kabul. He also was greatly taken with the readings from the Scriptures (*ib.*)

[1] Khotan, which may be considered the most central and inaccessible state of all Asia, was a seat of very ancient civilisation, and was already in friendly relations with China in 140 B.C. In the fourth century of our era Buddhism was in high development here. Though much of the surface appears to be rugged mountain, it is interspersed with levels which are both fruitful and populous. At this time, like the other states of Eastern Turkestan, it was under a Mahomedan chief of Turkish or Mongol descent. Khotan is the subject of a short chapter in Marco Polo. In modern times its only European visitor has been Adolphus Schlagintweit, who never returned to tell his tale.

death by priests of theirs for refusing to invoke the name of their false prophet. And now those initiated priests of theirs whom they call *Cashishes*,[1] were endeavouring to lay violent hands upon his property, as that of one who was dead intestate and without an heir. This matter caused great distress to Demetrius and Isaac, both in their daily sorrow at the supposed death of their comrade, and in the danger of their own position. So their joy was twofold when after a while

[2] In orig. *Cascisces*. *Kashîsh* or *Kasîs*, from a Syrian root signifying "*Senuit*," is the proper Arabic term for a Christian presbyter. It is the term (*Kashîsha*) applied by the Syrian Christians of Malabar to their own presbyters (*Buchanan, Christ. Resear.*, pp. 97 *seqq.*); it will be found attached to the Syriac names of priests on the ancient monument of Singanfu (see *Pauthier's* work on it, pp. 42 *seqq.*); and it is also applied by the Arabs to Catholic priests. Mount Athos, according to D'Herbelot, is called by the Turks *Kashish Daghi*, from its swarms of clergy. "By neither Christians nor Mahomedans," says my friend Mr. Badger, "is the word adopted to designate any minister of Islam." We have, however, many instances of its misapplication to Musulman divines by European travellers. And as I find the word given in Vieyra's *Portuguese Dictionary* (ed. Paris, 1862) in the form "Caciz—*A Moorish Priest*," it seems probable that this misapplication originated in the Peninsula. In like manner in India *Fakîr* has come to be applied to the Hindu Jogis and other devotees, though properly a Mahomedan denomination. In fact, our own application of *priest* (i.e. presbyter) to ministers of pagan worship is in some degree parallel. Only as regards *Kashish* it is notable that it seems to have been regarded by European Christians as the specific and technical term for a Mahomedan divine, whereas it was in its proper oriental application the specific and technical term for a Christian presbyter.

It was in general use by the Catholic missionaries as the term for a Mullah; see Jarric's Jesuit history *passim* (*Cacisii*); P. Vincenzo the Carmelite (*Casis o con altro nome Schierifi*, p. 55), etc. In Mendez Pinto also we have "*hum* Caciz *seu Moulana que elles tinhão por santo*" (cap. v).

Gonzalez de Clavijo again speaks of "Moorish hermits called *Caxizes*," and in another passage of "a great *Caxiz* whom they look upon as a saint" (*Markham's Trans.*, pp. 79, 114).

In the description of Khansa in the Mongol History of Wassaf (in Persian) it is said: "The city includes seven hundred temples resembling fortresses, each of which is occupied by a number of priests without faith and monks without religion (kashishán *be kesh wa Rahabín be dín*)" (see *Quatremere's Rashid.*, p. lxxvii). Here the Persian author seems to apply to Pagans the terms both for presbyter and monk appropriated to Christians.

he turned up in safety. He returned with his debt paid in ample measure with pieces of that valuable stone of which we have spoken; and to mark his gratitude to God he made a large distribution of alms to the poor, a custom which he kept up throughout his whole journey.

One day when he had sat down with a company of Saracens at a dinner to which one of them had invited him, some fanatic burst in, sword in hand, and pointing his weapon at Benedict's breast desired him instantly to invoke the name of Mahomet. Our friend replied that no such name was wont to be invoked in the law which he professed, and that he must absolutely refuse to do so. The bystanders then came to his aid, and the madman was ejected. The same threats of death however, unless he would address prayer to Mahomet, are said to have been directed to him repeatedly, yet God ever delivered him until the end of his journey. On another day it happened that the King of Cascar sent for him, when the priests and theologians of the accursed faith were present at the court, (they call their theologians *Mullàs*.) Being then asked what faith he would profess, whether that of Moses, or of David, or of Mahomet, and in what direction he would turn his face in prayer? our friend replied that the faith he professed was that of JESUS, whom they called *Isai*, and that it mattered not to what quarter he turned in prayer, for God was everywhere. This last answer of his created a great discussion among them, for in prayer they make a point of turning to the west. At last they came to the conclusion that our law also might have some good in it.[1]

[1] At Yarkand there were one hundred and sixty mosques; and every Friday an official went about the bazar reminding the people of the duties of the day. After this twelve men issued from the chief mosque armed with whips of hide, which they laid about those whom they found in the streets, absenting themselves from public prayer (*Jarrie*). The same custom is mentioned by Ibn Batuta as existing at Khwarizm in his time, and he tried to introduce similar *Blue Laws* when judge in the Maldives. It still prevails in Bokhara (*Burnes*, ii, 243; *Vambery*, p. 185). The pious

Meantime a certain native named Agiasi[1] was nominated chief of the future caravan of merchants. And having heard that our brother was a man of courage, as well as a merchant of large dealings, he invited him to a grand entertainment at his house, at which there was a great concert of music after the manner of those people, as well as a dinner. After dinner the chief requested our brother to accompany the caravan all the way to Cathay. He indeed desired nothing better, but experience had taught him how to deal with Saracens, so he was glad that the proposal should come from the other side, and thus that he should seem to be granting rather than accepting a favour. So the king himself was prevailed on by the chief to make the request, and did accordingly ask Benedict to accompany the *Caruanbasa* as they call the chief of the company. Benedict agreed to do so on condition that the king would grant him circular letters for the whole course of the journey. His former comrades, belonging to the Cabul caravan, took offence at this, for as has been said, it was always necessary on those occasions to travel in large numbers. So they counselled him against putting any trust in the natives, for these intended the thing only as a trap by which they might succeed in devouring his fortune, and his very life. Our friend however represented that he was acting in accordance with the King's expressed wishes, and had given his promise to the chief of the caravan, from which as an honest man he could not go back. In truth the fears which those merchants professed to entertain were not unfounded, for many of the natives of the country declared that those three Armenians (for so they called them, as being all of one faith) would be murdered as soon as they set foot outside the city walls. And so Demetrius took fright, and a second time drew back from prosecuting the journey further, trying also to persuade

Mahomed Tughlak enforced like regulations at Dehli when the whim took him, sometimes with death as his manner was.

[1] Hajji 'Aziz?

our brother to go back. Benedict would not listen to him, saying that he had never yet let himself be deterred by fear of death from the duty of obedience, much less would he do so now in a business from which so much glory to God might be expected. It would be most unworthy conduct, he said, to frustrate the hopes of so many for fear of death; and to throw away all the expense that had been incurred by the Archbishop of Goa and the Viceroy. He hoped still to carry through the undertaking by the help of Him who had thus far brought him prosperously, but in any case he would rather risk his life in the cause than draw back from his purpose.

So he girded up his loins for the journey, and bought ten horses for himself and his comrade and their goods, having already one more at his house. Meanwhile the chief of the caravan went off to his home, which was some five days from the capital, to get ready for the journey, and after his arrival sent back a message to our friend to start as soon as possible, and to hasten the other merchants by his example. He was glad enough to do so, and set out accordingly, in the middle of November 1604, proceeding first to a place called IOLCI, where duties used to be paid and the king's passports to be inspected. After this in twenty-five days, passing successively HANCIALIX, ALCEGHET, HAGABATETH, EGRIÁR, MESETELECH, THALEC, HORMA, THOANTAC, MINGIEDA, CAPETAL COL ZILAN, SARC GUEBEDAL, CANBASCI, ACONSERSEC and CIACOR,[1] they reached ACSU.[2] The difficulties of the

[1] I cannot identify one of these places in any routes or maps of Central Asia except *Canbasci*, which appears in K. Johnston's map of Asia as *Kumbashi*, and is mentioned in the Russian Reports as one of the most important settlements of the Aksu district (*Russians in Central Asia*, p. 160). Of the other names *Hancialix* translated from Ricci's spelling would be probably *Khan-Chalish*; *Sarc Guebedal* is probably the same name as *Saregabedal* which occurs further on; *Aconsersec* is possibly the *Saksak* of Berghaus's map; *Ciacor* is probably *Shakyar*, which indeed is the name of a town some 4° east of Aksu, but which also appears to be common to many other places in the country, if it is not indeed a local

road were great, either from the quantities of stones, or from the waterless tracts of sand which they had to pass.

Acsu is a town of the kingdom of Cascar, and the chief there was a nephew of the king's, and only twelve years of age. He sent twice for our brother. The latter carried him presents of sweetmeats and the like, such as would be acceptable to a child, and was most kindly received. A grand dance happening to be performed before them, the young prince asked Benedict how the people of his country used to dance? and so Benedict, not to be churlish with a prince about so small a matter, got up and danced himself to show the way of it. He also visited the prince's

form of the Persian *Shahr* (city). This is suggested by the fact that *Karashahr* appears in one of the routes in the book just quoted as *Karashagiar* (*R. in C. A.*, p. 527). The journey here is said to occupy twenty-five days, but the stages mentioned are sixteen. The latter is the number of stages according to the Chinese route in the *Russ. in Central Asia*, pp. 531-533, though none of the names correspond. It is also the number of stages assigned by the Tajik itinerary from Semipalatinsk to Kashmir which is given in the appendix to Meyendorf's Bokhara. The Georgian Raphael Danibeg was thirteen days from Yarkand to Aksu. (*Meyendorf*, pp. 314 *seq.* and 122 *seqq.*)

[2] *Aksu*, a city of Chinese Tartary, lying to the south of the glacier pass over the Mus-Tagh (and according to the tables in *R. in C. A.*, p. 521) in long. 78° 58', lat. 41° 9'. According to that authority it contains twelve thousand houses, though Timkowski states the number more probably at six thousand. It stands at the confluence of the Rivers Aksu (white-water) and Kokshal; it is the central point of the Chinese trade, and from it diverge all the great routes towards China, the Ili country, and the cities both of Eastern and Western Turkestan. The tract immediately surrounding it is one of some fertility, producing a variety of fruits including grapes and melons, besides cereals and cotton. There is a manufacture of jade articles, and of embroidered deerskin saddlery. Aksu appears in the Chinese annals, according to Deguignes, as early as the second century B.C. under the Han dynasty, as having a Chinese Governor. Deguignes and D'Anville think it to be the *Auxacia* of Ptolemy. It was at one time the residence of the Kings of Kashgar and Yarkand. From Aksu the high pass, called by the Chinese the "Pass of Glaciers," leads over that lofty part of the Thian Shan called the *Mus-art*, or Icy Mountains to Kulja, the seat of the Chinese General Government of Dsungaria and Turkestan. (*Russ. in C. A.*, pp. 112, 119, 159; *Timkowski* i, 391; *Deguignes* I, 26; II, xxxix; *Ritter* VII, 431, 449).

mother and showed her the royal rescript, which she looked on with great respect. To her he presented some little things such as women like, a looking glass, India muslin, and so forth. He was also sent for by the boy's governor who conducted the administration.

In this journey one of the pack horses belonging to our merchant fell into a very rapid river. In fact having broken the rope with which its feet (I know not why) were tied, it made off and crossed to the other side of the river. Benedict feeling the loss a serious one invoked the name of Jesus; and the horse of his own accord swam back to join the others, and our friend, delivered from the anticipated misfortune, returned thanks for the benefit vouchsafed. On this part of the journey they crossed the desert which is called CARACATHAI, or the Black Land of the Cathayans, because 'tis said that the people so called long sojourned there.[1]

At this town (Acsu) they had to wait fifteen days for the arrival of the rest of the merchants. At last they started, and travelled to OITOGRACH GAZO, CASCIANI, DELLAI, SAREGABEDAL, and UGAN, after which they got to CUCIA,[2] another small town at which they halted a whole month to

[1] *Kara-Khitai* has already been spoken of and the origin of the name indicated in connection with an extract from Rubriquis (*supra*, pp. 176-8), and its people are mentioned by Plano Carpini under the translated name of *Nigri Kitai* (pp. 750-1). The extent of the territory to which the name applied probably varied considerably, but its nucleus or axis rather seems to have been the range of the Thian Shan. Here it is applied to the desert south of that chain. The name has come down to modern times, for we find it applied in 1811 (*Khara-Kitat*) to a portion of the inhabitants of the Ili country (*Klaproth, Mag. Asiatique* I, 209).

[2] None of these places except the last can be traced either in the Chinese routes given in the *Russians in Central Asia*, or in the route set down by Mir Izzet Ullah, Moorcroft's explorer. *Kucha* itself is a place of some importance, containing according to Timkowski's information about one thousand houses, and considered by the Chinese to be the key of this part of Turkestan. The Chinese route says "a very large town, composed of one hundred thousand (!) houses, occupied by Musulmans; six hundred Chinese soldiers."

rest their cattle, for these were nearly done up, what with the difficulties of the road, the weight of the marble which they carried, and the scarcity of barley. At this place our traveller was asked by the priests why he did not fast during their appointed time of fasting. This was asked in order that he might offer a bribe for exemption, or that they might extract a fine from him. And they were not far from laying violent hands on him, to force him into their place of worship.

Departing hence, after twenty-five days' journey they came to the city of CIALIS, a small place indeed, but strongly fortified. This territory was governed by an illegitimate son of the King of Cascar, who, when he heard that our brother and his party professed a different faith, began to utter threats, saying that it was too audacious a proceeding that a man professing another creed should intrude into that country, and that he would be quite justified in taking both his life and his property. But when he had read the royal letters which Benedict carried he was pacified, and after the latter had made him a present he became quite friendly. One night when this prince had been long engaged with the priests and doctors of his faith in one of their theological discussions, it suddenly came into his head to send for Benedict, so he despatched a horse for him and desired him to come to the palace. The strange hour at which this message came, and the harsh reception which they had at first experienced from the Prince, left little doubt with Benedict's party that he was sent for to be put to death. So having torn himself from his Armenian comrade, not without tears, and earnestly begging him to do his uttermost, if he at least should escape the present danger, to carry the news of his fellow traveller's fate to the members of the Society, Benedict went off fully prepared to meet his death. On getting to the palace he was desired to engage in a discussion with the Doctors of the Mahomedan

Law; and inspired by Him who has said, *It shall be given you in that hour what ye shall say*, he maintained the truth of the Christian religion by such apt reasoning that the others were quite silenced and defeated. The Prince constantly fixed his attention on our brother, expressing approval of everything that he said, and finally pronounced his conclusion that Christians were really *Misermans*, or True Believers, adding that his own ancestors had been professors of their faith.[1] After the discussion was over, Benedict was entertained at a sumptuous supper and desired to spend the night at the palace. And it was late next day before he was allowed to leave, so that Isaac quite despaired of his return. Indeed Benedict found him weeping grievously, for the long delay had fully convinced him of his master's death.

In this city[2] they halted three whole months, for the chief

[1] This is a curious trace of the ancient Christianity of several of the Mongolian and Turkish tribes.

[2] Ritter in one place suggests that *Cialis* of Goës may be Karashahr, but in another he will have it to be *Yuldus*, a place lying among the mountains of the Thian-Shan, celebrated for its beauty, its springs, meadows, and fine breezes, which was the encamping ground of Timur after his campaign of extermination against the Jats. Ritter had also previously identified Yulduz with the *Cailac* of Rubruquis.

The notion that Yulduz was Cialis seems to have been originated by Petis de la Croix in his translation of Sharifuddin's *Life of Timur*. D'Anville also has identified Cialis with the Cailac of Rubruquis; both identifications seem to me to be wrong.

Yulduz lies in the mountains, a long way to the left of the great route along the foot of the Thian Shan, which the caravan followed. Shah Rukh's ambassadors indeed pass Yulduz, on their way to Turfan and Kamul. But it is clear that from Tashkand they took a route *north* of the Thian Shan, and were passing from the north to the south of the mountains when they touched at Yulduz.

The real position of Cialis must be either identical with Karashahr, as D'Anville thought, or close to it. The chief places noted in nearly all the routes and maps of this line of country are Aksu, Kucha, Karashahr, Turfan, Pijan, and Kamul. All these are mentioned by Goës except Karashahr, and where Karashahr should come, he gives us Cialis. D'Anville, indeed, observes that *Scialik* would mean, in Persian, the same as Karashahr, or Black Town (?). But the name seems to be not *Siyalis*, or

of the merchants did not wish to set out until a large party should have collected, for the larger it was, the more profitable for him: and for this reason he would not consent on any account that individuals of the company should go on before. Our brother, however, weary of the delay and of the great expense which it involved, was eager to get away; and by means of new presents he at last persuaded the Prince to arrange measures for his departure. But this was so completely against the wish of the chief of the

Siyalik, but *Chalis*, or rather *Chdlish*. This (*Jalish*) is mentioned by Sharifuddin as a place which Timur passed on his way to Yulduz; and by Haidar Razi, the historian of Turkestan, *Jalish* is spoken of as a city near Turfan, both places being under a prince called Mansur Khan, who is mentioned about A. H. 938 (A. D. 1531), as marching by *Jalish* to attack Aksu. Ramusio's friend, Hajji Mahomed, also mentions *Chialis* exactly where Karashahr should come, as may be seen by comparing his route with Izzet Ullah's:—

Izzet Ullah.		*Hajji Mahomed.*	
Kamul to Turfan . .	13 days.	Kamul to Turfan .	13 days.
Turfan to KARASHAHR	9 „	Turfan to CHIALIS	10 „
KARASHAHR to Kucha	10 „	CHIALIS to Kucha .	10 „

and this seems to put the identity of Cialis with Karashahr past question.

Karashahr, anciently called by the Chinese Yenki, stands on the Kaidu river, which irrigates the country round, and makes it bear plenty of fruit and corn. The Chinese route, elsewhere quoted, speaks of it as a large town inhabited by Chinese, with Kalmucks round them, and having a Chinese garrison of 500 men.

As regards the *Cailac* of Rubruquis, it seems rather to be sought where D'Avezac has placed it in the vicinity of Lake Balkash, or at any rate, to the north of the Thian Shan. It is mentioned by D'Ohsson as a town of the Karligh Turks, who lay in this direction, and is coupled with Imil and Bishbalig, both cities north of the mountains. Sadik Isfahani also names *Kaligh* with Almalig, Bishbalig, etc. It is probably the Haulak or Khaulak of Edrisi, in a route given in his work (ii, 215), which brings it within eight days' journey of Akhsi, a city on the Jaxartes near Kokand. It is perhaps the *Kainak* which Valikhanoff mentions as a place famous in the ancient Genoese trade, and still existing in Dsungaria, but he does not indicate where that is (*Ritter*, vii, 437, 439, 441-2; *H. de Timur Bec*, ii, 53-56; *D'Anville*, in *Acad. Inscript.*, xxxii, 589; *J. R. As. Soc.*, vii, 308; *Not. et Extraits*, xiv; *Ramusio, Esposizione*, in II, ff. 14-16; *D'Ohsson*, I, iii, 166; II, 516; *Sadik Isfahani*, p. 10; *Russ. in Cent. Asia*, pp. 62, 527).

caravan and his party, that it put an end to the friendly terms on which Benedict had hitherto stood with them.

He was just preparing for his departure from the town of Cialis when the merchants of the preceding caravan arrived on their return from Cathay. They had made their way to the capital of Cathay as usual by pretending to be an embassy; and as they had been quartered in Peking at the same hostelry with the members of our Society, they were able to give our brother most authentic information about Father Matthew and his companions, and in this way he learned to his astonishment that CHINA was the Cathay that he was in search of.

These were the same Saracens of whom it has been related in a preceding book, that they had dwelt for nearly three months under the same roof with our brethren. They were able to tell therefore how our brethren had made presents to the Emperor of sundry clocks, a clavichord, pictures, and other such matters from Europe. They related also how our brethren were treated with respect by all the dignitaries at the capital, and (mixing falsehood with truth) how they were often admitted to converse with the Emperor. They also described accurately enough the countenances of the members of the Society whom they had seen, but they could not tell their names, it being a Chinese custom to change the names of foreigners. They also produced the strangest corroboration of their story in a piece of paper on which something in the Portuguese language had been written by one of our brethren, and which the travellers had rescued from the sweepings of the rooms and preserved, in order that they might show it as a memorial to their friends at home, and tell them how the people that used this kind of writing had found their way to China. Our travellers were greatly refreshed with all this intelligence, and now they could no longer doubt that Cathay was but another name for the Chinese Empire, and that the capital which the

Mahomedans called Cambalu was Peking, which indeed Benedict before leaving India had known, from the letters of our members in China, to be the view taken by them.

As he was departing, the prince granted him letters for his protection, and when a question arose under what name he wished to be described and whether he would have himself designated as a Christian? Certainly, said he, "for having travelled thus far bearing the name of Jesus, I would surely bear it unto the end." It so chanced that this was heard by one of the Mahomedan priests, a venerable old man, who snatching off his cap flung it on the ground and exclaimed, "In verity and truth this man is staunch to his religion, for lo here in presence of thee a prince of another faith, and of all the rest of us, he has no hesitation in confessing his Jesus! 'tis very different with our people, for they are said to change their religion with their residence." And so turning to our traveller, he treated him with extraordinary courtesy. Thus even in the dark virtue is lustrous, and even from hostility and ill-will it extorts respect!

He set off at last with his comrade and a few others, and in twenty days came to PUCIAN, a town of the same kingdom, where they were received by the chief of the place with the greatest kindness, and supplied with the necessary provisions from his house. Hence they went on to a fortified town called TURPHAN, and there they halted a month.[1] Next they proceeded to ARAMUTH,[2] and thence to CAMUL,[3] another

[1] *Pijan* (*Pucian* of the text) and Turfan appear in some way to have been transposed, for both Izzet Ullah and the Chinese routes agree with the maps in making Pijan lie considerably to the *east* of Turfan. According to the tables of the Chinese survey, the former lies in lat. 42° 52', long. 90° 28'; the latter in lat. 43° 4', long. 89° 18' (*Russ. in Cent. Asia*, p. 521).

When Shah Rukh's ambassadors passed this way in 1419, most of the people of Turfan were still idolators; there was a huge temple in the town, with a figure of Sakya Muni on the platform.

[2] *Aramuth*, according to Petis de la Croix, is Kara Khoja (see *supra*, p. 275), but I suspect he is speaking without authority, as he often does. Thus, when speaking of the forerunners of Timur's invasion of India,

fortified town. Here they stopped another month to refresh themselves and their beasts, being glad to do so at a town which was still within the limits of the kingdom of Cialis, where they had been treated with so much civility.

From Camul they came in nine days to the celebrated northern wall of China, reaching it at the place called CHIAICUON,[1] and there they had to wait twenty-five days for an answer from the Viceroy of the province. When they were at last admitted within the wall, they reached, after one more day's travelling, the city of SUCIEU. Here they heard much about Peking and other names with which they were acquainted, and here Benedict parted with his last lingering doubt as to the identity in all but name of Cathay and China.

The country between Cialis and the Chinese frontier has an evil fame on account of its liability to Tartar raids, and therefore this part of the road is traversed by merchants

who, after crossing the Indus, reach *Uchh* before advancing against Multan, he notes "*Outchah*, ville à l'orient de l'Indus *au nord* de Multan," he is simply putting forth his own erroneous deductions from the text as a piece of independent knowledge. And when Pauthier quotes from the same author (*Polo*, p. 197), a professed extract from the *Yasa* of Chinghiz as corroborating, with extraordinary minuteness, certain statements of Marco, I suspect it will prove that Petis de la Croix had merely borrowed the said statements from Polo himself (*H. de Timur Bec*, ii, 46). Shah Rukh's people reach *Kara-Khoja* in three days from Turfan; in fourteen days more, *Ata-Sufi*; and in two days more, Kamul.

[2] Kamil, Kamul, Komul, Hami of the Chinese, and formerly called by them Igu, an ancient city of the Uigur country, has already been spoken of (*supra*, p. 390). It is the point of departure for crossing the desert into China, and near it the road from China branches, one line going north of the Thian Shan, by Barkul, the Urumtsi district, and Kurkara-usu to Ili; the other south of the mountains, by which Goëz came. Kamul is now the seat of the great commissariat depôts of the Chinese for the garrisons of Turkestan. The climate of Kamul appears to be very mild, for oranges are grown there (*R. in C. Asia*, p. 129).

[1] *Kia-yu-Koan*, or the "Jade Gate," of the Great Wall, the Jaiguouden of Mír Izzet Ullah's route. *Koan*, in Chinese, is a fort guarding a defile (*Ritter*, ii, 213; *D'Ohsson*, ii, 625; *J. R. As. Soc.*, vii, 283, *seqq.*). This place is probably the *Karaúl* of Shah Rukh's people.

with great fear. In the day time they reconnoitre from the neighbouring hills, and if they consider the road safe they prosecute their journey by night and in silence. Our travellers found on the way the bodies of sundry Mahomedans who had been miserably murdered. Yet the Tartars rarely slay the natives, for they call them their slaves and shepherds, from whose flocks and herds they help themselves. These Tartars make use neither of wheat nor of rice, nor of any kind of pulse, for they say such things are food for beasts and not for men; they eat nothing but flesh, and make no objection to that of horses, mules, or camels. Yet they are said to be very long lived, and indeed not unfrequently survive to more than a hundred. The Mahomedan races who live on the Chinese frontier in this direction have no warlike spirit, and might be easily subdued by the Chinese, if that nation were at all addicted to making conquests.

In this journey it happened one night that Benedict was thrown from his horse and lay there half dead, whilst his companions who were all in advance went on in ignorance of what had happened. In fact it was not till the party arrived at the halting place that Benedict was missed. His comrade Isaac went back to seek him, but the search in the dark was to no purpose, until at last he heard a voice calling on the name of Jesus. Following the sound he found Benedict, who had given up all hope of being able to follow his companions, so that his first words were, "What angel has brought thee hither to rescue me from such a plight?" By help of the Armenian he was enabled to reach the halting place and there to recover from his fall.

CHAPTER XIII.

How our Brother Benedict died in the Chinese territory, after the arrival of one of our members who had been sent from Pekin to his assistance.

TOWARDS the northern extremity of the western frontier of China the celebrated wall comes to an end, and there is a space of about two hundred miles through which the Tartars, prevented by the wall from penetrating the northern frontier, used to attempt incursions into China, and indeed they do so still, but with less chance of success. For two very strongly fortified cities, garrisoned with select troops, have been established on purpose to repel their attacks. These cities are under a special Viceroy and other officials deriving their orders direct from the capital. In one of these two cities of the province of SCENSI, which is called CANCEU, is the residence of the Viceroy and other chief officers; the other city called SOCIEU,[1] has a governor of its own, and is divided into two parts. In one of these dwell the Chinese, whom the Mahomedans here call Cathayans, in the other the

[1] *Sucheu*, the Succuir of Marco Polo, the *Sukchu* of Shah Rukh's embassy, and the *Sowchick* of Anthony Jenkinson's reports. The Persian envoys describe it (1419) as a great city of a perfectly square form, with a strong fort. The bazars were fifty cubits in width, kept clean and watered. There were four gates on each side, and behind (over?) each gate was a pavilion of two stories with a roof *en dos d'âne* after the Chinese fashion. The streets were paved with vitrified brick, and there were many great temples. See also Hajji Mahomed in Notes to Prelim. Essay.

Canceu is the still existing *Kancheu*, the *Canpicion* of Polo, the *Camezu* of Pegolotti, the *Kamchú* or *Kamjú* of Rashid and the Ambassadors (see *supra*, p. 270). The latter say it was nine posts from Sukchu, and was the seat of the *Dankshi* or chief governor of the frontier. They describe here a great temple, and one of those gigantic recumbent figures, representing Gautama in a state of Nirwana, which are still to be seen in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam. This one was fifty paces long, with figures of other divinities and *Bakshis* round about, executed with great vivacity. There was also a singular pagoda of timber, fifteen stories high, which turned upon a pivot. Here the envoys had to deposit their baggage, and received thereafter all supplies from the Chinese government.

Mahomedans who have come for purposes of trade from the kingdom of Cascar and other western regions. There are many of these who have entangled themselves with wives and children, so that they are almost regarded as natives, and will never go back. They are much in the position of the Portuguese who are settled at AMACAO in the province of Canton, but with this difference, that the Portuguese live under their own laws and have magistrates of their own, whereas these Mahomedans are under the government of the Chinese. Indeed they are shut up every night within the walls of their own quarter of the city, and in other matters are treated just like the natives, and are subject in every thing to the Chinese magistrates. The law is that one who has sojourned there for nine years shall not be allowed to return to his country.

To this city are wont to come those western merchants, who, under old arrangements between seven or eight kingdoms in that quarter and the Empire of China, have leave of admission every sixth year for two-and-seventy persons, who under pretence of being ambassadors go and offer tribute to the Emperor. This tribute consists of that translucent marble of which we spoke before, of small diamonds, ultramarine, and other such matters; and the so-called ambassadors go to the capital and return from it at the public expense. The tribute is merely nominal, for no one pays more for the marble than the Emperor does, considering it to be beneath his dignity to accept gifts from foreigners without return. And indeed their entertainment from the Emperor is on so handsome a scale, that, taking an average of the whole, there can be no doubt that every man pockets a piece of gold daily over and above all his necessary expenses.[1] This is the reason why this embassy is such an

[1] Martini and Alvarez Semedo speak in similar terms of the embassies, or pretended embassies, that came periodically to Peking from Central Asia. The latter says that their present to the Emperor always consisted of 1,000 *arrobas*, or 1,333 Italian pounds, of jade, 300 being of the very

object of competition, and why the nomination to it is purchased with great presents from the chief of the caravan, with whom it lies. When the time comes the *soi-disant* ambassadors forge public letters in the names of the kings whom they profess to represent, in which the Emperor of China is addressed in obsequious terms. The Chinese receive embassies of a similar character from various other kingdoms, such as Cochin-China, Sian, Leuchieu, Corea, and from some of the petty Tartar kings, the whole causing incredible charges on the public treasury. The Chinese themselves are quite aware of the imposture, but they allow their Emperor to be befooled in this manner, as if to persuade him that the whole world is tributary to the Chinese empire, the fact being rather that China pays tribute to those kingdoms.

Our Benedict arrived at Socieu in the end of the year 1605, and it shows how Divine Providence watched over him, that he came to the end of this enormous journey with ample means, and prosperous in every way. He had with him thirteen animals, five hired servants, two boys, whom he had bought as slaves, and that surpassing piece of jade; the total value of his property being reckoned at two thousand five hundred pieces of gold. Moreover both he and his companion Isaac were in perfect health and strength.

At this city of Socieu he fell in with another party of Saracens just returned from the capital, and these confirmed all that he had already been told about our fathers at Pekin, adding a good deal more of an incredible and extravagant

finest quality; 340 horses; 300 very small diamonds; about 100 pounds of fine ultramarine; 600 knives; 600 files. This was the old prescriptive detail which none might change. The cost price of the whole might be some 7,000 crowns, but the Emperor's return present was worth 50,000 (p. 27; see also narrative from Busbeck in Notes to Essay at beginning of the volume).

These sham embassies, disguising trading expeditions, were of old standing in China, going back at least to the days of the Sung Emperors. (*Remusat*, in *Mem. de l'Acad.*, VIII, 77-78).

nature; for example, that they had from the Emperor a daily allowance of silver, not counted to them, but measured out in bulk! So he now wrote to Father Matthew to inform him of his arrival. His letter was intrusted to certain Chinamen, but as he did not know the Chinese names of our fathers, nor the part of the city in which they lived, and as the letter was addressed in European characters, the bearers were unable to discover our people. At Easter however he wrote a second time, and this letter was taken by some Mahomedan who had made his escape from the city, for they also are debarred from going out or coming in, without the permission of the authorities. In this letter he explained the origin and object of his journey, and begged the fathers to devise some way of rescuing him from the prison in which he found himself at Socieu, and of restoring him to the delight of holding intercourse with his brethren, in place of being perpetually in the company of Saracens. He mentioned also his wish to return to India by the sea route, as usually followed by the Portuguese.

The fathers had long ere this been informed by the Superior's letters from India of Benedict's having started on this expedition, and every year they had been looking out for him, and asking diligently for news of him whenever one of those companies of merchants on their pretended embassy arrived at court. But till now they had never been able to learn any news of him, whether from not knowing the name under which he was travelling, or because the ambassadors of the preceding seasons really had never heard of him.

The arrival of his letter therefore gave great pleasure to the fathers at Peking. It was received late in the year, in the middle of November, and they lost no time in arranging to send a member of the Society to get him away some how or other and bring him to the capital. However on re-consideration they gave up that scheme, for the bringing an-

other foreigner into the business seemed likely to do harm rather than good. So they sent one of the pupils who had lately been selected to join the Society but had not yet entered on his noviciate. His name was John Ferdinand, he was a young man of singular prudence and virtue, and one whom it seemed safe to entrust with a business of this nature. One of the converts acquainted with that part of the country was sent in company with him. His instructions were to use all possible means to get away Benedict and his party to the capital, but if he should find it absolutely impossible either to get leave from the officials or to evade their vigilance, he was to stop with our brother, and send back word to the members of the Society. In that case it was hoped that by help of friends at Court, means would be found to get him on from the frontier.

A journey of this nature might seem unseasonable enough at a time of the year when winter is at the height of severity in those regions; and the town at which Benedict had been detained was nearly four months journey from Peking. But Father Matthew thought no further delay should be risked, lest the great interval that had elapsed should lead Benedict to doubt whether we really had members stationed at Peking. And he judged well, for if the journey had been delayed but a few days longer the messengers would not have found Benedict among the living. They carried him a letter from Fathew Matthew, giving counsel as to the safest manner of making the journey, and two other members of the Society also wrote to him, giving full details about our affairs in that capital, a subject on which he was most eager for information.

Our Benedict in the meantime, during his detention at that city, endured more annoyance from the Mahomedans than had befallen him during the whole course of his journey. Also, on account of the high price of food in the place, he was obliged to dispose of his large piece of jade for little

more than half its value. He got for it twelve hundred pieces of gold, a large part of which went to repay money which he had borrowed, whilst with the rest he maintained his party for a whole year. Meanwhile the caravan of merchants with their chief arrived. Benedict was obliged to exercise hospitality, and in course of time was reduced to such straits that he had to borrow money to maintain his party; this all the more because owing to his nomination as one of the seventy-two ambassadors he was obliged (again) to purchase some fragments of jade. He hid a hundred pounds of this in the earth to preserve it from any tricks of the Mahomedans, for without a supply of this article he would have been absolutely incapacitated from taking part in the journey to Peking.

John Ferdinand left Peking on the eleventh of December in that year; and his journey also was attended with a new misfortune, for at SINGHAN, the capital of the province of SCIENSI, his servant ran away, robbing him of half his supplies for the journey. Two months more of a fatiguing journey however brought him to Socieu, in the end of March 1607.

He found our Benedict laid low with a disease unto death. The very night before it had been intimated to him, whether by dream or vision, that on the following day one of the Society would arrive from Peking; and upon this he had desired his comrade the Armenian to go to the bazar and buy certain articles for distribution among the poor, whilst at the same time he earnestly prayed God not to suffer the hopes raised by his dream to be disappointed. Whilst Isaac was still in the bazar some one told him of the arrival of John Ferdinand from Peking, and pointed him out. The latter followed the Armenian home, and as he entered saluted our brother Benedict in the Portuguese tongue. From this he at once understood what the arrival was, and taking the letters he raised them aloft with tears of joy in his eyes, and burst into the hymn

of *Nunc dimittis*. For now it seemed to him that indeed his commission was accomplished, and his pilgrimage at an end. He then read the letters, and all that night kept them near his heart. The words that were spoken, the questions that were asked may be more easily conjectured than detailed. John Ferdinand did his best to nurse him, hoping that with recovered strength he might yet be able to undertake the journey to Peking. But strength there was none; as indeed physician there was none, nor proper medicines; nor was there anything to do him good in his illness, unless it were some European dishes which John Ferdinand cooked for him. And thus, eleven days after the latter's arrival, Benedict breathed his last; not without some suspicion of his having been poisoned by the Mahomedans.

These latter had fellows always on the watch, in order to pounce upon whatever the dead man might leave. This they did in the most brutal manner; but no part of the loss which they caused was so much to be deplored as the destruction of the journal of his travels, which he had kept with great minuteness. This was a thing the Mahomedans fell on with open jaws! For the book also contained acknowledgments of debt which might have been used to compel many of them to repay the sums which they had shamelessly extracted from him. They wished to bury the body after their Mahomedan ritual, but Ferdinand succeeded in shutting out their importunate priests, and buried him in a decent locality where it would be practicable to find the body again. And those two, the Armenian and John Ferdinand, having no service-books, devoutly recited the rosary as they followed his bier.

It seems right to add a few words in commemoration of a character so worthy. Benedict Goës, a native of Portugal, a man of high spirit and acute intellect, on his first entrance into the society was sent as a volunteer to join the mission in the Mogul Empire. For many years he gave most active aid to that mission, instructing Mahomedans, Hindus, and

converts as far as his own acquirements went, and gaining the love of all as he did so. Yet he was not a priest; but he was held in high esteem for his great good sense and other valuable qualities natural and acquired. Hence also he was admitted to the intimate friendship of the Mogul Sovereign, and when this prince was despatching an embassy to Goa, along with his own envoy he sent Benedict also in the same character.

This king indeed entertained a project for the conquest of (Portuguese) India, and it may be ascribed to Benedict's prudence that war with so powerful a monarch was averted.

A short time before his death he wrote to warn our members at Peking never to put faith in Mahomedans, and also in deprecation of any future attempts to travel by the route which he had followed, as being both dangerous and useless. A circumstance is well-known in our Society which manifests the holy character of the man. Remarking how many years had past without the opportunity of confession and absolution, "I am dying," he said, "without this consolation, and yet how great is God's goodness! For He does not allow my conscience to be disturbed with anything of moment in the review of my past life!"

A truly abominable custom prevailed among those merchants, that the property of anyone dying on the way should be divided among the rest of the company. On this account they laid hold of Isaac the companion of Benedict, and tied him up, threatening him with death unless he would call upon the name of Mahomed. Ferdinand, however, sent a memorial to the Viceroy at Canceu claiming Isaac's liberation. The Viceroy passed his orders on the petition, desiring the Governor of Socieu to decide according to right and justice, and to restore the youth's uncle to him with the property of the deceased. At first the governor was favourable to Ferdinand, but when some forty of the Saracens joined together to bribe him, he then threatened to flog Ferdinand,

and kept him three days in prison. The latter did not, however, a bit the more desist from his undertaking, but when he ran short of money to prosecute his suit, he sold all the clothes that he could do without to raise a small sum. He was detained for five months about this business, and yet had no means of communicating with the Armenian, from his ignorance of Persian; the other being equally unable to speak either Portuguese or Latin. When they were called before the Court, Ferdinand recited the Lord's Prayer, whilst Isaac repeated the name of Benedict Goës with a few words of Portuguese; and as nobody understood a word of what either of them said, the judge gave it as his opinion that they were talking in the Canton dialect, and understood each other perfectly! Latterly, however, Ferdinand learned in about two months to talk Persian, and so was able to converse with the Armenian.

Sometimes the Mahomedans raised objections from the extreme discrepancy of their physiognomies, which they said evidently betrayed one to be a Saracen and the other a Chinaman. But Ferdinand answered that his mother had been Chinese, and that he took the character of his features after her. Nothing, however, moved the judge so much as what occurred one day when Ferdinand declared before the Court that Isaac was heartily opposed to the Mahomedan religion, and that in any case if he really did belong to that faith he would never touch pork; and taking a piece of pork out of his sleeve he offered it to Isaac, and both of them began to eat it, to the intense disgust of the Mahomedans and to the amusement of the other spectators. Indeed when the Saracens saw this they gave up the case as hopeless, and went out of court, spitting at Isaac as they went, and saying that he had been deluded by that Chinese impostor. For it was true that on the whole journey neither Isaac nor Benedict had ever eaten pork, in order not to give offence to the Mahomedans; or if they ever did so, at least it was in

private. These circumstances moved the judge to decide in Ferdinand's favour, and to order all that Benedict had left to be restored to him. Nothing was found, however, except the pieces of jade which had been buried. From the proceeds of these debts were paid, and means furnished for the journey to Peking. But still there was not enough to cover the great expense of all those months of detention, so they had to borrow twenty pieces of gold on the security of some bits of jade which still remained. At last they both got to the brethren at Peking, to whom the whole affair had caused a good deal of anxiety. They had now cause for both grief and joy; Benedict's loss was to be mourned, and the Armenian to be congratulated on his escape. Him they received as if he had been one of our own body, for Benedict had spoken in strong terms of the faithful help which he had rendered throughout the journey.

Ferdinand brought to Peking a cross elegantly painted on gilt paper, the only one that Benedict had ventured to carry among those Mahomedans, and also the three rescripts of the three kings, viz., of Cascar, Quoten, and Cialis, all which are now preserved as memorials in our house at Peking. There also are preserved the letters patent of Father Jerome Xavier, with other letters of his which had arrived during the journey, and letters likewise from Alexius Menezes, archbishop of Goa, and from the said Jerome, to the members of the society at Peking, in which they expressed themselves as feeling satisfied that Cathay could not be a long way from Peking, and that probably the two kingdoms had a common frontier.

Isaac the Armenian stopped a month at Peking, and during that time he communicated to Father Matthew from his own recollection, assisted by some papers of Benedict's, all that we have related in these three chapters. He was then despatched to Macao by the road which our people are in the habit of using, and was there most kindly received by the

Society and its friends. Having then sailed on his way back to India, the ship was taken by pirates in the Straits of SINCAPURA, and the Armenian was plundered of all his trifling possessions and reduced to a wretched state of bondage. He was ransomed, however, by the Portuguese of Malacca, and went on to (Western) India. Hearing there of his wife's death, he proceeded no further towards the Mogul's territories, but settled at a certain town of the East Indies called CIAUL, where he still survives at the date when this is written.[1]

[1] Jarric's statement about Isaac is somewhat different. According to that writer he was taken by a *Dutch ship* on his way to Malacca. The captain was so struck by his history that he caused it all to be written down, and sent him to Malacca. Thence the fathers of the society sent him on to Cochin and Goa, where he fell in with Father Pinner (who had been stationed at Lahore when Goës started on his journey). The Provincial of India gave Isaac one hundred *pardaos*, and he went with Pinner to Cambay (p. 226).

Chawul (Ciaul) is a port of the Konkan about thirty-five miles south of Bombay, which was an important place of trade in the sixteenth century.

NOTE I. (SEE PAGE 540.)[1]

THE PASSES OF THE HINDU KUSH.

Wood, in his Journey to the Oxus,[2] names only four such passes. Three of these are reached from Kabul through the valley of Koh-Damán north of that city, and diverge from each other near Charekar; viz., the Pass of PANJSHIR or KHAWAK, the Pass of PARWAN, and the Pass of GHORBAND; but each of these in fact represents a group of several routes over the mountains. The fourth that he mentions is the Pass of HAJJIYAK,[3] lying much further west, passing by Bamian, and usually, in modern times at least, approached from Kabul by the road running west from that city by Rustam Khail, south of the offshoots of the Indian Caucasus called the Pugman Range and Kohistan of Kabul.

If we turn to Sultan Baber we find the number of Passes raised to seven. Those which he names are *three* leading out of the Panjshir Valley, viz. (1) KHAWAK, (2) TÚL, (3) BAZARAK; then (4) the Pass of PARWAN; and *three* described as in Ghorband, viz. (5) YANGI YULI or the "New Road," (6) KIPCHAK, and (7) SHIBRTU.[4]

As Ritter understands this list it does not include the Hajjiyak at all. But we know that the Shibrtu route, which Baber says was the only one passable in winter, lies some twenty-five or thirty miles west of Bamian, and I have little doubt that the Kipchak of Baber is the Hajjiyak, which, leading by what was in old times the great and flourishing city of Bamian, must always have been a main line across the mountain barrier; and it is scarcely conceivable that Baber should have omitted it in his list. That both Kipchak and Shibrtu are mentioned by the king among the passes reached from Ghorband, is, I suppose, to be accounted for by the fact that a transverse route does pass along the whole length of the Ghorband Valley to the foot of the Hajjiyak Pass, whilst there is also a lateral communication from Bamian to Shibrtu.

The account in the Ayin Akbari is remarkable, as it seems partly copied from Baber and partly modified. This also mentions seven passes, viz. (1) Hawak (read *Khawak*), (2) Tool (*Túl*), (3) Bajaruck (*Basarak*), (4) not named, but probably Parwan; (5) "by the Hill of Kipchak, and this also is somewhat easy to pass. The sixth (6) is by the Hill of Sheertoo (read

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[1] See also the map facing page 529.

[2] *Journey to the source of the River Oxus*, 1841, p. 186.

[3] Called also Hajikak and Hajigak.

[4] *Leyden and Erskine's Baber*, p. 133 *seq.*

Shibrtu), but in the summer when the waters are out you must go by the route of Bahmian and Talakan *(Talikhan)*. The seventh (7) is by the way of Abdereh. In winter travellers make use of this road, it being the only one passable in the depth of that season." This last route is, I presume, to be looked for in the Koh-i-Baba, still further west than Shibrtu, but I believe no existing map will help us to it.

The most complete notice of the Passes from the Panjshir and Ghorband Valleys is to be found in a Report by Major R. Leech of the Bombay Engineers, published at Calcutta by the Indian Government.[1] By help of this we make out the following list of the whole number, commencing with the most westerly:—

PASSES FROM PANJSHIR.

1. Pass of ANJUMAN. This is a pass starting from Puryan near the head of the Panjshir Valley and crossing into Badakhshan direct. It probably descends the Kokcha Valley by the lapis-lazuli mines. Paryan is perhaps the *Perjan* of Sharifuddin (in P. de la Croix) which Timur passed in his expedition against the Kafirs. Leech's Reports mention traditions of Timur's doings in the Passes into Kafiristan that ascend from Paryan.

2. KHAWAK Pass, at the very head of the Panjshir Valley, crossing to the Valley of Anderab, which it descends to the town of that name.

3. TUL. This is a loop line to the Khawak Pass. It quits the latter about twenty miles short of the summit and rejoins it at Sirab about twelve or fourteen miles[2] beyond the summit in the descent to Anderab.

4. ZARYA ascends from Safed Chir on the Panjshir R. some six miles below Túl, and joins the last pass just before reaching Sirab.

5. From UMRAZ (or Murz of Wood's survey), fifteen miles further down the Panjshir, and about thirty-one miles from the entrance of the valley, three bad passes, called Shwa, Urza, and Yatimak, lead across the mountains joining the Bazarak Pass (No. 6) on the other side of the ridge. The two last of the three are seldom free from snow.

6. BAZARAK. This quits the Panjshir at the village of that name, twenty-eight and half miles from the mouth of the valley, and descends upon KHINJAN on the Anderab River.

7. SHATPAL. This starts from Gulbahar at the entrance to Panjshir Valley, and joins the Bazarak Road on the other side at Kishnabad or Kishtabad, twenty-one miles from Khinjan.

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[1] I have only MS. extracts of this report, for which I am indebted to Dr. F. Hall, of the India Office Library.

[2] These distances in the Panjshir Passes I take from Wood's survey as embodied in a map by Mr. J. Walker. The distances here as given in Leech's report are inconsistent, and in fact impossibly small. In the Ghorband Passes I have to take Leech's distances.

PARWAN PASSES.

8. Pass of PARWAN, from the town of that name, once a place of consequence (see p. 558), descends upon Bajga belonging to Anderab, apparently to the west of Khinjan. Baber says this pass is a very difficult one, and that between Parwan and the great *col* there are seven minor passes called the *Haft Bacha* (Seven young ones).

9. Pass of SALULANG (Sir-i-lung of Wood). This starts from Tutan Dara, six miles north-west of Charekar, and descends, like the last, somewhere not far from Khinjan.

PASSES FROM GHORBAND.

10. KUSHAN. This is the pass which leads close under the great peak specially known as Hindu Kush. It starts from a point in the Ghorband valley about ten miles from Tutan Dara. Kushan lies some miles up the pass. It descends upon Khinjan like the two last, which it probably receives before reaching that place.

11. GWALIAN. This leaves the valley some twenty miles from Tutan Dara. It descends upon Gozan on the Anderab river.

12. GWAZYAR. This pass leaves the valley near the ruins of the old town of Ghorband, some twenty-four and a half miles from Tutan Dara. It leads to Kilagai, a small town on the road from Khinjan to Baghlan and Kunduz.

13. CHAR DARYA. This pass leaves the valley at about twenty-nine miles from Tutan Dara, and descends upon GHORI, a considerable town. It is passable for Kafilas of every description.

From this the road goes on along the valley of Ghorband, throwing off one or two minor passes, and eventually joins the Hajiyak road at the ruins of Zohak near Bamian.

14. The Pass of HAJJIYAK or Bamian.

15. SHIBERTU.

16. ABDEREH, for which my only authority is the Ayin Akbari as already quoted. These two last are beyond the limits to which the name Hindu Kush is applied.

Of these Passes Hajjiyak was that crossed on his celebrated journey by Burnes, the first European traveller who saw and described the great rock idols of Bamian; it was also that crossed by Wood on his journey northward to the Oxus. It was probably by this pass that Chinghiz crossed, for the siege of Bamian was one of the events of his campaign in these regions; and by it Hiwen Thsang travelled to India.

The Pass of Chardarya was crossed by Aurungzib. The Pass of Salulang was attempted by Capt. Wood,[1] but unsuccessfully, owing to the lateness

[1] Wood himself calls it the Pass of Parwan, but it is evident from comparison with Leech's report that it was the Pass called in the latter Salulang.

of the season. Timur on his expedition into India crossed the Hindu Kush by the Pass of Túl, and returned by that of Shibrtu. The Khawak Pass was crossed by Wood and Lord on their return from the Oxus. By this pass or one of its branches Ibn Batuta had crossed five hundred years before;[1] and we have already seen reason to believe that one of the passes into the Panjshir Valley was crossed by Friar Odoric on his return to Europe.[2] Hiwen Thsang also returned by Pangshir and Anderab on his way to China.

I have already observed that the mention by Goës of Parwan as occurring just before the entrance of their Kafila to the mountains involves strong probability that he crossed by the pass taking its name from that

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[1] See p. 403 *ante*. Ibn Batuta after passing KUNDUZ and BAGHLAN (see map) arrived at Andar (ANDARAB), where he says a city formerly existed which had altogether disappeared. Starting for the Hindu Kush (the name which he uses) they met with hot springs, in which he washed, and lost the skin of his face in consequence. These were no doubt the hot springs of SIRAB, near where the Passes of Túl and Khawak diverge in the Upper Valley of Anderab, and which are mentioned by Wood as having temperatures of 108° and 124° *Fahr.* (*Journey*, p. 413). The Moor next mentions halting in a place called *Banjhir* (PANJSHIR) where there had been formerly a fine city on a considerable river descending from the mountains of Badakshan. All the country had been ruined by Chinghiz and had never recovered. He then arrived at the mountain of PASHAI (*supra*, p. 403). The Pashais are mentioned repeatedly by Leech as one of the most numerous tribes in the Panjshir valley and adjoining passes. These, I gather, are now Mahomedans, but as the name is mentioned also by Elphinstone as that of one of the Kafir tribes, no doubt part of them in the mountains have retained their heathenism and independence. He then reaches Parwan and Charkh (CHAREKAR, which Leech also calls *Charka*). It will be seen that these data leave nothing ambiguous in the traveller's route excepting the short alternative of the Khawak and Túl routes over the actual ridge of the Hindu Kush (see *Ibn Bat.*, III, 82-88).

Edrisi speaks of the people of the towns of *Banjhir* and *Hariana* on the Banjhir (Panjshir River) as employed in mining silver, and those of the latter as notorious "for the violence and wickedness of their character." The position of this town of Panjshir does not seem to be known now, (though Mahomedan coins exist struck at that place in the ninth century) but the valley has retained its character to this day. "This fair scene," says Wood, "is chiefly peopled by robbers, whose lawless lives and never-ending feuds render it an unfit abode for honest men." *Hariana* is perhaps PARYAN, at which there are silver mines marked in Wood's survey. Edrisi also speaks of Andarab as a town surrounded by gardens, orchards, and vineyards, where they stored the silver from Panjshir and Hariana (i, 476, *seq.*).

[2] *Supra*, p. 167.

town. One of the minor difficulties of the narrative, however, is the application of the name *Aingharan* to the district which he reached after crossing the mountains. Now I find from Wood's survey, as embodied in J. Walker's map, that the name *Dara-i-Aingharan* is applied to two of the valleys in the vicinity of Bamian. It is a possible explanation, therefore, that the Kafila might from Parwan have struck up the Ghorband valley and crossed the Hajjiyak Pass. This circuitous route would also be more consistent with the great length of time assigned to the journey, and with the identification of Khulum as the Calcia of our traveller. None of these grounds, however, are stable enough to build upon with much confidence.[1]

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[1] I have had greatly to regret in the preparation of this note the want of access to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which contains a variety of valuable papers bearing on the subject.

THE END.

APPENDIX I.

LATIN TEXT OF ODORIC, FROM A MS. IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE IMPÉRIALE.

DESCRIPTIO ORIENTALIUM PARTIUM FRATRIS ODORICI BOEMI DE FORO JULII PROVINCIÆ SANCTI ANTONII.

1. *De Trapesondâ et Armeniâ Majori.*[1]

LICET alia multa et varia de ritibus et conditionibus hujus mundi a multis enarrentur, tamen est sciendum quod ego frater Odoricus de Foro Julio,[2] volens transfretare et ad partes infidelium volens ire ut fructus aliquos lucri facerem animarum,[3] multa magna et mirabilia audivi[4] atque vidi quæ possum veraciter enarrare.[5] Nam primo[6] transiens Mare Majus, me[7] transtuli Trapesondam, quæ Pontus antiquitus vocabatur. Hæc terra valde est bene situata; ipsa enim est scala[8]

[1] These headings have been interpolated by the editor as before stated. (See Biogr. and Introd. Notices.)

[2] *Hak.* de portu Vahonis; *Mus.* de portu Nahomonis.

[3] *Bol.* Et hoc de licentiâ prælatorum meorum qui hoc concedere possunt secundum regulæ nostræ instituta.

[4] *Bol.* a fide dignis.

[5] *Far. then has:* Præsens itaque opusculum in capitula dividens de multis gestis quæ vidi et audivi in oriente septentrione et meridie, intendo aliqua sub brevi compendio enarrare, nec intendo de singulis reddere rationem, multa nihilominus primitus mittens quæ apud multos incredibilia viderentur. Neque enim ego illa crederem nisi propriis auribus audivissem aut hæc talia respexissem. Quatuordecim annis cum dimidio in habitu almi confessoris Christi Francisci in hujusmodi partibus sum moratus. Ad petitionem reverendi fratris Guidoti tunc præsens provincialis ministri provinciæ sancti Antonii hoc breve opusculum in Paduâ compilavi. Siquid igitur studioso lectori in hoc opusculo visum fuerit divinæ bonitati et non meæ imperitiæ imputetur. Siquid autem nimis incredibile vel a veritate devium fuerit visum diligentis lectoris caritas, non mordax insultus aut latrans dente canino, corrigat et emendet.

[6] *Far.* Primo itaque de Venetiis cum galeis recedens.

[7] *Hak.* et *Mus.* de Pera juxta Constantinopolim.

[8] *Bol.* schola (!)

quædam, videlicet Persarum, Medorum et omnium eorum que sunt ultra mare. In hac enim terra vidi quoddam quod michi placuit valde.[1] Nam vidi hominem quemdam secum ducentem plures quam quatuor milia perdicum. Iste homo per terram veniebat, perdices non[2] per aerem volabant; has perdices ipse ducebat ad quoddam castrum quod vocatur Canega,[3] distans a Trapesonda tribus dietis. Hæc perdices hujus erant conditionis et proprietatis. Nam cum ille homo vellet quiescere vel dormire, omnes se aptabant circa eum, more pullorum gallinarum; et sic isto modo eas ducebat Trapesondam, usque ad palatium imperatoris. Quæ cum sic essent ante eum de eis tot accipiebat quot ipse volebat. Alias autem predictus homo ad locum de quo prius illas acceperat perducebat. In hac civitate positum est corpus Athanasii super ipsius portam civitatis.[4] Hinc recedens ivi in Armeniam Majorem, ad quamdam civitatem que vocatur Aritiron[5]; hæc civitas multum erat bona et opulenta multo tempore jam transacto, et adhuc esset nisi fuissent Tartari et Sarraceni, qui eam multum[6] destruxerunt. Nam ipsa multum inundat pane carne et aliis victualibus multis præterquam[7] vino et fructibus. Ista civitas[8] multum est frigida. De ipsa enim dicunt gentes quod altior est terra, quæ hodie habitetur in mundo.[9] Hæc autem multum habet bonas aquas, cujus ratio est hæc ut videtur. Nam venæ harum aquarum oriri videntur et scaturire a flumine Eufrate quod per unam dietam distans ab ista civitate labitur inde. Hæc autem civitas est via media, eundi Thauris. De hac recedens ivi ad quemdam montem qui vocatur Sovisacalo.[10] In hac contrata est mons ille[11] in quo est archa Noæ. In quem libenter ascendissem si mea societas me præstolari voluisset; et quem quum ascendere voluerim tamen gens illius contratæ dicebat quod nullus unquam poterat ascendere illum montem. Nam hoc videtur et dicitur Deo altissimo non placere.

2. *De civitatibus Thauris et Soldoniâ.*

De ista contrata recedens me transtuli Thauris, civitatem magnam et regalem que Susis[12] antiquitus dicebatur. In ista ut dicitur est Arbor Sicca, in una moscheta et[13] in una ecclesia Sarracenorum: hæc civitas nobilior est et melior pro mercimoniis quam alia aliqua civitas que hodie sit in mundo. Nam non reperitur hodie aliquid in mundo quod sit comestibile[14] vel quod sit alicujus mercimonii, cujus illic magna copia

[1] *Ven.* *Ut.* quoddam valde pulchrum.

[2] Miscopied probably for *vero* as in most others. *Ven.* *has* hominem... perdices...sequebantur.

[3] *Ven.* Zanega; *Ut.* Zanga; *Far.* Tanegar; *Hak.* Zauena; *Bol.* Tegana; *Ram.* Zanga. *The true reading doubtless* Zegana.

[4] *Ven.* Is enim est qui fecit symbolum quod incipit Quicunque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem, etc.

[5] *Ven.* Arziron; *Ut.* Aceron; *Far.* Arzirai; *Hak.* Azaron; *Mus.* Arciron; *Bol.* Caricon; *Ram.* Acron.

[6] *Hak.* pro magnâ parte. *Far.* *omits* multum.

[7] *Far.* primitus *instead of* præterquam.

[8] *Ven.* regio. [9] Sit altior civitas totius universi.

[10] *Ven.* Sobissacelo; *Ut.* Sollisaculo; *Far.* Bobis (?Sobis) Sachalo; *Hak.* as in Ven.; *Mus.* ditto; *Bol.* Sarbi-Sarbolo; *Ram.* Sollisaculo; *Marc.* Sobissacallo.

[11] *Ram.* il monte Gordico.

[12] *Bol.* Suors. *Ram.* Suci,..qual fu sotto il dominio di Assuero Re. So *Ven.*

[13] Et in *should be* id est, *as in Ven., Mus.* and Far. *Hak.* and Bol. *omit about the* Arbor secco *altogether.*

[14] *Bol. here inserts* nihil alicujus utilitatis, necessitatis, aut mercimonii.

non habeatur. In tantum autem est nobilis civitas illa, quod est quasi incredibile de hiis quæ illic habentur, hæc enim multum bene est posita atque sita. Nam quasi totus mundus pro mercimoniis illi correspondet civitati.[1] De hac volunt dicere Christiani quod ex ista civitate plura recipit imperator ille quam rex Franciæ habeat de toto suo regno. Penes hanc civitatem est unus mons salinus magnam copium salis toti exhibens civitati. De hoc sale unusquisque accipit tantum quantum vult et petit et nichil alicui solvendo. In hac civitate multi Christiani cujuslibet generationis[2] commorantur, quibus ipsi Sarraceni in omnibus dominantur, multa autem alia sunt in ista civitate quæ nimis longum foret aliis enarrare. Ab hac civitate Thaufis recedens ivi per decem[3] dietas ad quamdam civitatem que vocatur Soldonia.[4] In hac civitate tempore estivo moratur imperator Persarum. In yeme autem vadit ad quamdam contratam[5] que est super mare quod vocatur mare Bachuc.[6] Hæc civitas magna terra est et frigida, in se habens bonas aquas, ad quam civitatem portantur multa et magna mercimonia, quæ illic venduntur.

3. *De Civitate Magorum; De Mari Arenoso, et Terrâ Huz.*

De hac civitate recedens cum caravanis et[7] cum quadam societate ivi versus Indiam Superiorem, ad quam dum sic irem per multas dietas applicui ad unam civitatem trium magorum que vocatur Cassan,[8] civitatem regalem et magni honoris; verumptamen Tartari eam multum destruxerunt, hec civitas multum habundat pane et vino et multis aliis bonis. Ab hac civitate usque Iherusalem quo magi iverunt non virtute humana sed virtute divina et miraculose cum sic cito iverint, sunt bene quinquaginta dietæ. Multa autem alia sunt in hac civitate quæ non multum expedit enarrare.[9] Inde recedens ivi ad quamdam civitatem nomine Gest[10] a qua distat mare arenosum per unam dietam, quod mare est valde periculosum et mirabile. In hac civitate Gest est copia maxima victualium et omnium aliorum bonorum quæ jam dici possent: potissime autem ficuum illic copia maxima reperitur; uvæ autem siccæ et virides ut herba, et multum minutæ illic reperiuntur uberius et abundantius quam in aliqua parte mundi. Hæc est tertia melior[11] civitas quam Persarum imperator possideat in toto suo regno. De hac dicunt Sarraceni quod in ea nullus Christianus ultra annum vivere umquam valet.[12] Multa autem alia illic habentur. Ab hac recedens et transiens per multas civitates et terras ivi ad quamdam civitatem nomine Conium,[13]

[1] *Hak.* and *Mus. instead of the last three words* confluere potest.
[2] *Mus. has* de omni natione.
[3] *Far.* has 14.
[4] *Ut.*, Hak. Soldania; *Far.* Solonia; *Bol.* Soldolina; *Marc*, Soldonia.
[5] *Bol. alone has* quæ vocatur Axam.
[6] *Ven.* Bachac; *Ut.* and *Ram.* Bacud; *Far.* Abachuc; *Hak.* and *Mus.* Bakuc; *Bol.* Abacut, *and applies the next sentence to the city on that sea;* hæc magna est et *calida*; *Marc.* Bacuch.
[7] *Should be* id est as in Ven., *who has* haravanis. *Hak.* cum quadam societate caravanorum; *Bol.* quadam soc. Tartarorum.
[8] *Ven.* Cassam; *Far.* C asim; *Hak., Mus.* Cassan; *Bol.* Casan.
[9] *Bol.* quæ scribere non curavi. *Hak.* multa mirabilia quæ pertranseo.
[10] *Far.* Iese, *perhaps* Iesd; *Ven., Hak., Mus.* and *Bol.* Gest.
[11] Bol. de melioribus *simply.*
[12] *Far. omits* ultra annum.
[13] Sic in *Ven.*; in *Hak.* and *Ut.* Comum; in *Mus.* Comam; in *Far.* Come-

quæ antiquitus civitas magna fuit; hæc maximum dampnum intulit Romæ tempore jam transacto: ejus autem muri bene quinquaginta miliarum sunt capaces. In ea sunt palacia integra adhuc inhabitabilia,[1] tamen multis victualibus ipsa habundat. Ex hac recedens et veniens per multas terras et civitates perrexi ad terram Job[2] quæ est cunctorum victualium multum pulcher situs.[3] Penes hanc terram sunt montes in quibus sunt pulcherrima pascua pro animalibus habundanter. Illic etiam melius manna et in majori copia reperitur, quam in terra aliqua quæ hodie sit in mundo. In ipsa etiam habentur quatuor bonæ perdices minores[4] quam uno grosso veneto. In ea sunt pulcherrimi senes, ubi homines nent et filant, mulieres vero non. Hæc terra correspondet a capite Caldeæ versus tramontanam.[5]

4. *De Moribus Caldeorum; de Indiâ infra terram et Ormes.*

Exinde exiens ivi in Caldeam que est regnum magnum, ad quam dum sic irem ivi per juxta turrim Babel quæ per quatuor dietas forte distat ab ea.[6] In hac Caldea est sua lingua propria;[7] in qua sunt pulchri homines, mulieres vero turpes. Illi homines compti vadunt et ornati, ut hic nostræ incedunt mulieres. Qui homines super capita sua sunt portantes fasciola aurea et de perlis, mulieres autem sunt ferentes solum unam vilem interulam[8] attingentem usque ad genua, habentemque manicas largas et longas quod usque ad terram ipsæ attingunt: hæc autem mulieres ambulant discalciatæ portantes sarabulas[9] usque ad terram. Hæc tricas et diezas (?) non portant sed earum capilli undique disparguntur. Hic autem sicut homines post ipsas vadunt mulieres, ita illic prius homines mulieres incedunt.[10] Alia autem multa in hac civitate sunt que non multum expedit enarrare. Hinc ego recedens veni in Indiam quæ est infra terram quam ipsi Tartari multum destruxerunt. In ea sunt homines ut plurimum[11] tantum datulos comedentes, quorum xlii libræ[12] minori uno grosso illic habentur. Sic etiam de aliis multis. Ex hac India recedens et transiens per multas contratas ad mare occeanum ego veni: prima autem terra quam inveni vocatur Ormes, que est terra multum et bene murata, terra multorum ac magnorum mercimoniorum. In ea tantus et ita immensus calor est quod pilia[13] et testi-

rum; in *Bol.* Coprum. *Marc.* Conio; *Ram.* Como; *Wadding's Annals*, Karum. Mandeville has *Cornaa.*

[1] This is also the sense in *Far. Hak. has* non habitata; *Mus.* minime tamen inhabitata; *Ven.* inhabitata tamen.

[2] *Ven.* nomine Hus, sic in *Far., Hak., Mus. Bol. has* Ur; *Marc. has only* città la quale ha nome Hus. *The introduction of Job's name is probably interpolated.*

[3] *Hak.* and *Mus.* omnium victualium plenissima est, et pulcherrime situata. *Bol.* has nearly the same.

[4] *Should be* minoris *or* pro minori *as in the other manuscripts.*

[5] *Hak.* correspondet Chaldeæ versus transmontana.

[6] *Hak.* omits the distance.

[7] *Ram.* Nella ditta Caldea è il vero idioma Caldeo qual noi chiamamo lingua Caldea.

[8] *Hak.* and *Mus.* camisiam; *Bol.* tunicellam.

[9] *Sic Ven.* et *Mus.*; *Ut.* cerabulas; *Hak.* Serablans; *Bol.* scrobullas.

[10] *Par.* 2 *has* hæc etiam mulieres vadunt post viros sicut apud nos viri post mulieres. Et alia multa.

[11] *Bol. instead of* ut plurimum *has* pulchri.

[12] *Mus. has* quatuor libræ, et pro minori quarteria uno grosso. *Ram.* 40 libre.

[13] *Ven.* and *Far.* parilia *for* virilia as in *Hak.* and *Mus.*

culi homini exeunt coram et descendunt usque ad dimidium tibiarum. Ideo que gens illius contratæ si vivere volunt sibi faciunt unam unctionem qua illa ungunt. Nam aliter homines penitus morerentur, et dum sic sunt uncta in quibusdam sacculis illa ponunt circumcirca se cingentes.

5. *De Navigio ferrum nullum habente, in quo se transtulit Fr. Odoricus Tanam Indiæ.*

In hac contrata homines utuntur navigio quod vocatur Iasse siccum solem spago.[1] In unum istorum navigiorum ego ascendi in quo nullum ferrum potui in aliquo[2] reperire. In quod dum sic ascendissem in xxviii[3] dietis me transtuli usque ad Tanam[4] in qua pro fide Christi gloriosum martirium passi fuerunt quatuor nostri fratres minores: hæc terra multum bene est situata. In ea magna copia panis et vini et arborum reperitur. Hæc terra antiquitus fuit valde magna. Nam ipsa fuit terra regis Pori,[5] qui cum rege Alexandro prælium maximum commisit:[6] hujus terræ populus ydolatrat. Nam adorant ignem, serpentem et arbores. Hanc terram regunt Sarraceni qui eam ceperunt violenter, nunc subjacentes Daldili.[7] In hac reperiuntur diversa genera bestiarum. In qua potissime sunt leones nigri in maxima quantitate. Sunt autem symiæ et gattimaymones,[8] et noctuæ[9] ita magnæ sicut habentur hic columbæ. Hi etiam mures sunt ita magni sicut hic sunt canes scherpi.[10] Ideoque illic canes capiunt mures (quia) muriligæ seu katti ad hoc nihil valent.[11] In hac contrata quilibet homo ante domum suam habet unum pedem faxiolorum[12] ita magnum sicut hic una esset columpna; hic pes faxiolorum minime desiccatur dum modo sibi exhibeatur aqua, et multæ aliæ novitates sunt illic quas multum pulchrum esset audire. In hac contrata quæ Tana nuncupatur, ut jam dictum est, passi sunt gloriosum martirium quatuor fratres minores pro fide Christi quod per hunc modum habetur.

6. *Martyrium iv. Fratrum in civitate Tanæ.*

Dum predicti fratres essent in Ormes, passi[13] fuerunt cum una navi ut irent Polumbum;[14] in qua dum essent portati fuerunt malo suo velle,[15]

[1] *Should be* sutum solo spago *as in Mus. Hak. has* sutum sparto; *Ven.* sutum solum spegio; *Bol. has* navigio quod vocatur Iassefutum, *an obvious misreading. Marc. has* vase *for the name of the shipping.*

[2] *Should be* aliqua parte *as in Mus. Bol. has* in quo nullum Fratrum potui reperire, *an absurd misreading.*

[3] *Ram.* vinti giorni.

[4] *This is* Cavam *in the transcript made for me, probably a misreading. Ven. has* Tanam, *the others* Thanam *or* Thana, *except Bol. which has* Chanaam; *Marc.* Tana. *Ram.* Thana.

[5] *Bol. has* Ponti vel Parti.

[6] *Mus.* sicut in vitâ ejusdem Alexandri plenius invenitur.

[7] *Hak. has* regis Daldilo: *all have this name nearly the same.*

[8] *The Italian Marc. has* cocoveggie, screech owls, *but bats are meant.*

[9] *Bol.* cathi magni.

[10] *Far. only has* porci parvi; *Ven. has* sarpi sive canes; *Hak.* sicut sunt hinc scepi; *Mus.* scoipi id est canes tales; *Bol.* sicut in terris nostris canes qui dicuntur Depi. *Marc. also has* scherpi.

[11] *Far. omits* quia .... valent.

[12] *Ven.* plantam unam fasiolorum; *Hak.* fasciculorum; *Mus.* fasciolorum; *Far.* omits the sentence entirely.

[13] For *pacti* as in *Ven.*, etc.

[14] *Mus.* Polumbrum.

[15] *Hak. has* violenter deportati sunt; *Mus.* vellent nollent.

usque ad Tanam ubi sunt xv domus Christianorum, scilicet Nestorinorum, qui sunt scismatici et heretici. Et dum sic essent istic sibi invenerunt hospicium, et hospitati sunt in domo cujusdam illorum. Dum autem sic manerent illic, orta fuit quædam lis inter virum illius domus et ejus uxorem quam ille sero ipse fortiter verberavit. Dum vero sic esset verberata et quæsta fuit coram lo cadi[1] uno episcopo in lingua sua. Quam mulierem ipse cadi interrogavit si probare posset quæ dicebat. Tunc autem ipsa respondit dicens se bene probare posse. Nam quatuor Raban Franchi scilicet quatuor viri religiosi in lingua nostra, illic erant in domo cum michi hoc fecit: hos interrogate, qui vobis dicent veritatem. Ipsa autem muliere sic loquente, unus de Alexandria ibi præsens rogavit Cadi ut mitteret pro eis quos dicebat homines maxime scientiæ et scripturas bene scire. Ideoque dicebat bonum esse de fide disputare cum eis. Quod audiens sic ipse Cadi misit pro eis, qui dum sic ante eum adducti fuissent isti quatuor fratres, scilicet frater Thomas de Tolentino de Marchia Anchonitana, frater Jacobus de Padua, frater Demetrius[2] qui erat frater laycus sciens linguas, et frater Petrus de Senis domi ut res custodiret,[3] ad ipsum Cadi perrexerunt. Dum sic essent coram lo Cadi,[4] ipse cum ipsis disputare cœpit de fide nostra. Cum autem illi infideles sic disputarent cum istis, dicebant Christum solum purum hominem et non Deum. Quod cum sic dixissent, ille frater Thomas Christum esse unum Deum et hominem probavit rationibus, et exemplis in tantum eos confudit Sarracenos quod penitus ipsi contrarium dicere non volebant.[5]

7. *Idem.*

Tunc videns ille Cadi se sic esse confusum ab eis, coram toto populo clamare cœpit voce magna dicens: Et tu quid dicis de Machometo? Quid dicis de Machometo? Nunc autem istam consuetudinem habent Sarraceni, qui si se verbis defendere non possunt se ensibus tuentur et pugnis. Dum autem eum interrogasset sic Cadi,[6] responderunt fratres dicentes, si tibi probavimus rationibus et exemplis Christum verum Deum et hominem esse qui legem dedit in terra, et Machometus exinde venit qui legem contrariam isti fuit; si sapiens es, quid sit de Deo[7] tu optime scire potes. Tunc ille cadi et alii Sarraceni alta voce dicentes clamabant: Tu quid in tantum[7] dicis de Machometo? Tunc frater Thomas respondit: Vos tantum dicere poteritis de eo quid dico, quod tacere hoc nimium verecundabor unum ex quo me vultis respondere vobis.[8] Respondeo vobis et dico quod Machometus filius perditionis est, et est cum dyabulo patre ejus positus in inferno; non solum ipse sed et omnes qui hanc legem tenent et observant. Cum ipsa sit pestifera nequam et falsa

[1] *Ut. also has* Locadi; *the others* Cadi *or* Kadi, id est episcopo. *Ven.* mane conquesta est cadi, &c.

[2] *Boll.* Zorzanus.

[3] *This should be as is noted in the margin*, dimisso fratre Petro domi, etc. It is thus in *Far.*, *Hak.* and *Mus.* *Ven. has* ut rex custodiret, *a slip.*

[4] Better with these last words omitted from *ad ipsum* as in *Ven.*

[5] *Hak. omits from* nunc autem.

[6] *Should be* de eo, as in the other MSS.

[7] *Ven.* and *the others have* iterum.

[8] *Mus. has* Tu inscius quid dico de eo videre potes? tamen ex quo vultis quod plane vobis respondeo, dico, etc. *Hak.* Vos omnes videre potestis quod dico de eo, etc. The others have nearly the same as above.

totaque contra domini[1] et animarum salutem. Hoc audientes Sarraceni omnes alta voce unanimiter clamare cœperunt ;[2] Malum dixerunt de propheta ! et tunc ceperunt fratres et eos in sole vinxerunt ut virtute caloris intensi duram[3] paterentur mortem. Cum illic tantus sit calor ut si quis per spatium unius missæ perseveraret in sole, ipse penitus moreretur. Et tum illic in sole fuerunt laudantes et glorificantes Deum, a tertia usque ad nonam semper, ylares et sani. Sic hoc videntes Sarraceni inter se consilium habuerunt et ad fratres venerunt dicentes : Volumus accendere magnum et copiosum ignem in quem vos projiciemus ; et si ut dicitis[4] ita sit vera, ignis vos non comburet ; si autem falsa sit et mala, penitus vos comburemini ab igne.[5] Tunc fratres responderunt eis dicentes : Parati sumus intrare ignem et carcerem, et quidquid nos, cadi, poteris facere pro fide nostra, semper invenies nos paratos, verum tamen unum facere debes,[6] quod si ignis nos comburet, non hoc credas ex fide nostra procedere, sed solum ex peccatis nostris, cum propter peccata nostra nos bene comburi permitteret ipse Deus, hoc semper salvo, quod fides nostra ita perfecta est et bona sicut in mundo umquam esse posset. Nam ab hac non est in mundo alia fides, nec esse potest quæ salvum faciat aliquem nisi ista.

8. *Idem.*

Dum autem sic ordinatum esset quod isti fratres conburi deberent vox evolavit et fama corruit per totam illam terram.[7] Itaque tunc omnes de dicta terra tam parvi[8] quam magni tam homines quam mulieres ad hoc finaliter intuendum penitus occurrerunt. Ipsi autem fratres ducti fuerunt super medanum,[9] scilicet super plateam civitatis, ubi accensus erat ignis valde copiosus. Qui dum sic accensus esset, frater Thomas ibat ad projiciendum se in ignem. Et dum vellet se in ignem se projicerê quidam Sarracenus eum per capucium cepit dicens : Non vadas tu illuc cum sis senex. Nam super te aliquod experimentum[10] habere possis, propter quod ignis te comburere non posset. Sed alium ire permittas. Tunc statim quatuor Sarraceni fratrem Jacobum de Padua violenter ceperunt, eum in ignem projicere satagentes, quibus ipse dixit : Me permittatis quia libens in hunc ignem projiciam memet ipsum.[11] Ipsi autem ad sua verba non attendentes statim in ignem[12] projecerunt. Dum autem sic eum in ignem projecissent, et ipse sic in igne permaneret, ignis tam altus et tam magnus ipse erat quod nullus eum unquam poterat intueri ; ejus tamen vocem audiebant invocantis semper nomen Virginis gloriosæ. Tunc igne totaliter consumpto ipse frater Jacobus stabat super prunas lætus et gaudens, cum manibus in modum crucis in

[1] Dominum. *Ven.* Deum.
[2] *Ven.* Moriatur! Moriatur! quod malum, etc.
[3] *Ven.* diram; *Mus.* durissimam.
[4] *Ven.* ut ducitis.
[5] *Hak.* si autem vos combusserit patebit quod fides vestra nulla sit; *and Mus.* nearly the same. *The others nearly as here.*
[6] *Ven.* sciatis.
[7] *Ven.* Vox et fama per totam civitatem intonuit. *Far.* Vox evolavit et fama insonuit.
[8] *Ven.* pueri.
[9] *Hak. omits* medanum.
[10] *Hak.* carmen aliquid vel experimentum.
[11] *Mus.* pro fide meâ libenter ignem intrabo. So in *Hak.* also.
[12] *Mus.* turpiter. *Hak.* violenter.

cœlum levatis, mente integra et puro corde dominum semper laudando. Et quamquam ignis fulcit ita magnus et copiosus, nichil tamen de eo[1] læsum vel combustum breviter fuit inventum. Hoc videns populus cœpit unanimiter exclamare, dicens : Isti sunt sancti, isti sunt sancti ! Nephas est offendere eos. Nam merito videmus quod fides sua sancta est et bona ! Hoc dicto frater ille Jacobus vocatus fuit de igne, et sic sanus exivit et illæsus. Tunc hoc videns, lo cadi[2] voce magna cœpit clamare dicens : Sanctus non est, sanctus non est ! sed ideo non comburitur quod tunica quam habet in dorso est tela terræ Abrahæ. Ideo nudus expolietur et in ignem sic mittatur. Ut autem finaliter hoc compleretur venerunt pessimi Sarraceni et in duplo plus quam prius ignem accenderunt. Et tunc fratrem Jacobum exuerunt, cujus corpus insuper abluerunt, et ipsum optime oleo perunxerunt, et ut ignis major esset et fortius ageret et arderet, et ad hoc ut ipse frater citius comburi posset, oleum in struem lignorum in copiam maximam dejecerunt, et ipsum fratrem Jacobum in ignem cum impetu impulerunt. Frater autem Thomas et frater Demetrius de foris stabant genibus flexis in orationibus magnis et devotionibus persistentes, et sic frater Jacobus ignem iterum exivit illæsus sicut et prius fecit.

9. *Idem.*

Hoc videns populus unanimiter clamabat dicens ; Peccatum est, peccatum est offendere eos quoniam sancti sunt ! Et sic in populo rumor maximus habebatur. Hoc secundum miraculum videns Lomelic, scilicet Potestas, ad se fratrem Jacobum vocavit et eum se suis fecit indui vestimentis. Et dixit : Vadete fratres, ite cum gratia Dei, quia nullum malum patiemini vos a nobis. Nam bene videmus vos esse bonos et sanctos, et fidem vestram esse veram et sanctam et bonam finaliter nos videmus. Sed ut vobis securius consulamus vos hanc terram exite quam citius potestis, quia ipse Cadi pro posse nititur et laborat vobis auferre vitam. Dum hoc sic diceret, completorium quasi erat, et tunc totus populus ydolatræ omnesque alii, stupefacti et exterriti, dicentes permanebant : ¡Tot et tanta magna mirabilia vidimus nos ab istis, quod nescimus quid nos tenere debeamus et observare ! Dum sic dixissent tunc Lomelic[3] accipi fecit illos tres fratres quos ipse portari fecit ultra quoddam brachium maris per aliquantulum spacium ab illa terra, ubi burgum unum erat, ad quod ille in cujus jam domo fuerant hospitati illos sociavit,[4] et sic in domo unius ydolatræ sibi hospicium invenerunt. Dum sic autem illic manerent perrexit cadi ad Lomelic dicens ei ; Quid facimus ? lex Machometi destructa est, nec[5] aliud fiat, nam isti Raban Franchi (scilicet viri religiosi), nunc ibunt predicando per totam contratam istam, et cum tot et tanta fecerunt ipsi in hac contrata, quæ totus populus jam vidit, omnes convertentur ad eos, et sic lex Machometi aliquid ulterius non valebit. Verumptamen ut ipsa totaliter non sit destructa, tu unum scire debes, quod Machometus precepit in Alchoran (scilicet in lege sua) quod si aliquis unum interficeret Christianum tantum meritum ipse haberet ut si iret ad Mecham. (Unum scire vos debetis quod Alchoran lex Sarracenorum est sicut Christianorum est lex evangelium. Mecha est

[1] *Hak.* nec pannus nec capillus læsus per ignem inventus.
[2] *The others have not the* lo.
[3] *Hak.* Melich. *Mus.* Melik.
[4] The immediately preceding words are wanting in *Mus.*
[5] *Ven.* nisi ; *Far.* ni, *one of which is required.*

locus ubi jacet Machometus, ad quam Mecham vel locum sic vadunt Sarraceni sicut Christiani pergunt ad Sepulchrum.)[1] Tum Lomelic respondit Cadi dicens; Vade et facias sicut tu vis.

10. *Idem.*

Hoc dicto, statim ille Cadi accepit quatuor homines armatos ut irent ad interficiendum istos fratres, qui dum sic transissent quamdam aquam facta est nox. Et sic illo sero illos non potuerunt invenire. Statimque Lomelic capi fecit omnes illos Christianos qui erant in terra, et eos carceri mancipavit. Cum autem perventum esset ad dimidium noctis, tunc fratres ut dicerent matutinum surrexerunt, et tunc homines illi qui missi fuerant ad eos illos invenerunt, et illos extra terram sub arbore quadam adduxerunt. Dum autem sic illi adduxissent ipsos eis dicebant, Vos scire debetis quod mandatum habemus ab ipso Cadi et Lomelic, ut vos interficere debeamus, quod tamen adinplemus nos invite, cum sitis vita bona homines et sancti. Sed tamen nos aliter facere non valemus. Nam si suæ non obediremus jussioni, nos cum liberis nostris et uxoribus penitus moreremur. Hiis isti fratres responderunt sic dicentes: Vos qui huc venistis ut per mortem temporalem vitam æternam valeamus adipisci, quod vobis est preceptum facite. Nam pro fide nostra et amore Domini nostri Jhesu Christi,[2] quæ nobis adhibetis nos tormenta parati sumus viriliter sustinere. Unde sic istis audacter respondentibus et constantius, Christianus ille qui eos associaverat, et illi quatuor homines mali, multum ad invicem altercabant.[3] Nam eis respondebat Christianus et dicebat: Si gladium aliquem ego haberem aut quod vultis non fieret aut me cum ipsis neci finaliter daretis. Tunc illi fecerunt fratres expoliari. Statimque frater Thomas junctis manibus simul in modum crucis capitis abscisionem suscepit. Sed fratrem Jacobum unus percussit in capite et eum usque ad oculos scidit, statimque caput abscidit. Frater autem Dometrius uno gladio in mamilla fortissime fuit percussus. Exinde sibi caput fuit abscisum. Dum autem sic ex martirio suo animas Deo dedissent, statim aer ita lucidus et ita clarus est effectus, quod cuncti fortissime mirabantur; similiter, et luna maximam ostendit claritatem et splendorem. Statim autem post hoc tot et tanta tonitrua et fulmina atque choruscationes evenerunt, quod pene omnes mori finaliter se credebant. Navis etiam illa quæ debebat eos portare Polumbum et portati fuerunt usque ad Canam[4] contra velle suum, taliter fuit submersa, quod de ea et omnibus qui erant in illa nichil unquam breviter scitum fuit.

11. *Idem.*

Mane autem facto misit Cadi acceptum res illorum fratrum et tunc inventus fuit frater Petrus de Senis, trium aliorum fratrum socius. Quum eum sic reperissent ipsum ceperunt et eum duxerunt ad Cadi; quem ipse Cadi et alii Sarraceni alloquentes sibi maxima promittebant, si fidem suam vellet abnegare et illam Machometi integraliter confiteri. Ipsi autem dum sic sibi loquerentur, ipse de eis trufabatur et eos

[1] The whole of this is expressed in *Mus.* in quite different and more diffused language; but, as the meaning is the same, the variations are not worth specifying.

[2] *Hak.* et *Mus.* qui pro nobis crucifigi et mori dignatus est.

[3] *Mus.* multum audacter et constanter cum illis quatuor armatis altercatus est.

[4] *For* Tanam.

mirabiliter deridebat. Eo autem sic ipsos deridente, ipsum tormentare cœperunt a mane usque ad meridiem, diversis generibus tormentorum. Quod quamquam sic ei inferrent semper tamen in fide immobilis permanebat et constanter, illorum falsam ostendendo et eam viriliter destruendo. Cum autem videntes Sarraceni a sua non velle discedere voluntate, illum super quemdam arborem suspenderunt, in quam a nona usque ad noctem ipse permansit. Cum autem ad noctem fuit perventum, de arbore ipsum acceperunt sine aliqua læsione de mundo. Hoc illi videntes[1] ipsum per medium diviserunt, et mane facto nichil de eo breviter fuit inventum. Verumtamen uni personæ fide dignæ fuit revelatum quod Deus occultaverat ejus corpus usque ad certum tempus, in quo tamen sibi placuerit ipse illud manifestabit. Ut autem Deus opem ostenderet quod eorum animæ jam regna celestia obtinebant,[2] illa die qua beatissimi fratres gloriosi martires sunt effecti, ille Lomelic dormitioni se dedit; qui dum sic in lecto dormiret ecce sibi apparuerunt isti martires gloriosi lucidi, ut sol ac splendidi, singulos enses in suis manibus retinentes, et super Lomelic taliter eos vibrantes ac si dividere voluerunt ipsum totum. Quod videns ipse Lomelic voce sic alta cepit clamare. Quid ad ejus clamorem tota ipsius familia occurrit festinanter petens ab eo quid ipse haberet atque vellet. Ipsum autem dum sic interrogassent ipse respondit dicens: Illi Raban Franchi quos interfici feci huc ad me venerunt suis ensibus, quos habebant, occidere me volentes. Ideoque ipse Lomelic misit pro Cadi cui totum, quod sibi acciderat enarravit, consulens ipsum quid de hoc esset finaliter peragendum, cum se crederet ab eis penitus interire. Tunc Cadi sibi consuluit ut pro eis magnam elemosinam exhiberet, si vellet evadere de istorum manibus interfectorum. Tunc statim misit pro illis Christianis quos ipse in carcere detinebat, qui cum venissent ad eum, ipse indulgentiam ab eis de eo quod sibi fieri fecerat humiliter postulavit, faciens se socium eorum et fratrem. Hoc autem facto tunc precepit ut si quis unquam offenderet aliquem Christianum ipse penitus moreretur; et sic omnes illæsos abire permisit. Post hoc autem ipse Lomelic eis quatuor moschetas, scilicet iiii eclesias fecit edificari, in quarum qualibet quosdam sacerdotes Sarracenos fecit morari.

12. *Idem.*

Audiens ipse imperator Doldali[3] istos fratres talem subiisse sententiam, misit et ordinavit ut ipse Lomelic penitus caperetur, et ipse ad eum vinctis manibus duceretur. Qui cum ante eum sic fuisset adductus, eum interrogabat quare mori fecerat tam crudeliter istos fratres. Cum autem interrogatus sic fuisset, respondit ei: Istos fratres sic mori permisi quia ipsi subvertere volebant legem nostram, et malum etiam dixerunt de propheta. Tunc sibi dixit imperator: Tu, crudelissime canis, cum vidisti quod Deus bis liberavit eos ab igne, quo modo fuisti sic ausus ut eis talem mortem inferres. Hæc cum dixisset, eum cum tota familia sua per medium scindi fecit. Et quia talem mortem istos fratres[4] in suum meritum fecit sustinere, hoc ipse passus fuit tantum in detrimentum.[5]

[1] *Hak.* videntes illum lætum vivum et illæsum.

[2] *Hak.* ostenderet animas suorum martyrum jam in cœlis consistere et congaudere cum Deo et angelis et aliis sanctis ejus. *Mus. nearly the same. Ven. omits.*

[3] *Ven.* Dodoli; *Far.* Dodili; *Mus.* Dodili; *Hak.* Dodsi; *Marc.* dol Dali.

[4] *Mus.* Petro de Senis. *Hak.* fratri.....inflixerat.

[5] *Far.* Cadi autem hoc audiens de terra illa atque de imperatoris dominio clam fugit. *Hak. also ending* et sic evasit. *Mus.* et evasit.

In hac autem contrata consuetudo quædam observatur. Nam nunquam corpus aliquod sepelitur, sed ipsa corpora solum in campaneis dimittuntur, et ex nimio calore cito destruuntur et consumuntur. Verum corpora horum fratrum bene quatuordecim diebus illic fuerunt in sole, et ita recentia et integra sunt inventa sicut erant illa die qua passi fuerunt suum martirium gloriosum. Sic autem videntes qui in illa terra aderant Christiani, sua corpora acceperunt, quæ postea sepulturæ tradiderunt.[1]

13. *Fr. Odoricus colligit ossa fratrum ; miracula per illa operata.*

Tunc ego frater Odoricus de suo sciens martirio glorioso illuc ivi,—et sua corpora ego accepi quæ jam fuerunt tradita sepulturæ.[2] Quia per sanctos suos Deus ipse multa et magna mirabilia operatur, per istos voluit potissime operari. Nam ego frater Odoricus cum ossa istorum fratrum sic accepissem et pulchris toaleis[3] alligassem, ipsa in Indiam Superiorem ad unum locum nostrorum fratrum cum uno socio et famulo deferebam.[4] Dum autem ea sic portarem, ibi domo cujusdam habui hospitari,[5] et ipsa ossa, imo potius reliquiæ sanctæ dici debent, supposui capiti meo et me dedi dormitioni. Et dum sic dormirem ipsa domus a Sarracenis subito fuit accensa, ut me facerent mori.[6] Alta voce populi universi [sic]. Nam hoc est imperatoris preceptum ut cujus domus accenditur[7] ipse penitus moriatur. Ipsa domo sic accensa socius meus cum famulo exivit domum, me in ea cum ossibus remanente, qui dum sic essem in domo jam ardente, ossa horum fratrum ego accepi et[8] in uno angulo ipsius me aptavi.[9] Sic autem igne domum comburente, tres anguli ipsius domus fuerunt combusti, illo solo in quo eram remanente : me autem sic in illo angulo residente, ignis desuper me aderat non me lædens nec ipsius domus angulum comburens ; quamdiu autem in domo cum istis ossibus permanebam, ignis nunquam descendebat sed ad modum æris[10] ipse desuper residebat. Cum autem domum egressus fuissem, tunc ipsa totaliter fuit combusta, non solum ipsa sed et multæ aliæ quæ illi contiguæ videbantur, et sic inde illæsus exivi.

14. *Idem.*

Aliud quoque insuper evenit quod michi accidit in eundo. Nam dum sic per mare cum istis ossibus ego irem ad unam civitatem quæ vocatur Polumpum,[11] ubi piper nascitur habundanter, nobis defecit totaliter

[1] *Here Far. alone has* "Passi autem fuerunt hi beati martyres pro fide Christi martyrium gloriosum anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Jhesu Christi MIII....."

[2] *Boll.* et apertis sepulchris suscepi ossa eorum humiliter et devote.

[3] Toaleis, *towels*. *Ven. has* manutergiis ; *Mus.* tuallis.

[4] *Here Boll. has* omnipotens quoque Deus qui per prophetam mirabilis in sanctis suis dicitur, etiam per istos sanctos sua voluit mirabilia demonstrare.

[5] *Boll.* et cum cum socio pergerem ad quiescendum.

[6] *Mus.* tanquam reus (reum) illius ignis accensi.

[7] *Mus.* ut si quis reus incendii domus esset. *These two last variations seem to be glosses.*

[8] *Boll.* et invocato Dei auxilio.

[9] *Boll.* Mira Dei clementia qui se pie clamantibus non elongat!

[10] *Ut. has* ad modum crucis extensus, *which seems an arbitrary embellishment of the copyist.*

[11] *Should be* Polumbum, *as in Ven., Far., Mus* ; *Hak. has* Polumbrum ; *Marc.* Polumbo et Polombo.

ipse[1] ventus. Quapropter venerunt ydolatræ suos deos adorantes ut eis ventum prosperum exhiberent, quem illis tamen dare minime potuerunt. Deinde venerunt Sarraceni, et ut etiam ventum haberent multum laboraverunt, et tum illum suis supplicacionibus nunquam habere potuerunt. Deinde michi et socio meo preceptum fuit ut orationes ad Deum nostrum fundere deberemus ;[2] quatenus nobis finaliter exhiberet. Qui si haberi posset nobis honorem maximum exhiberent, et ut alii hoc intelligere non possent, ille rector navis Armorice[3] [*sic*] fuit locutus dicens: Si ventus haberi non posset hæc ossa nos projiciemus in mare. Tunc ego hæc et socius audientes orationes, fecimus ipsi Deo; qui videntes ventum haberi non posse, ad honorem Virginis gloriosæ multas missas promisimus celebrare si ventum possemus nos in aliquo tunc habere. Cum autem ventum nos habere minime poteramus,[4] tunc accipiens ex ossibus istis unum, ipsum dedi famulo nostro ut iens ad caput[5] navis ipsum in mare projiceret festinanter. Tunc ipso osse in mari sic projecto, statim ventus ita nobis effectus est prosper, quod nunquam nobis defecit donec accessimus nos ad portum, ad quem meritis istorum fratrum devenimus cum salute.

15. *Idem.*

Cum autem illic in Polumbo fuimus nos ad portum, aliam navim nomine Lonclum[6] nos ascendimus ut jam dictum est. In Indiam Superiorem nos venimus ad quamdam civitatem Zaiton,[7] in qua sunt duo loca nostrorum fratrum, ut ibi istas reliquias sanctas poneremus. Nunc autem in ista navi erant bene septingenti,[8] inter alios homines et mercatores.[9] Nunc ydolatræ isti hanc consuetudinem in se habent. Nam antequam ipsi applicent ad portum, per totam inquirunt navim ut videant quid esset in ea, maxime si sibi essent ossa mortuorum, quæ si reperirent,[10] illa in mare projicerent ipsi statim, et habentibus illa mortis periculum maximum immineret.[11] Cum autem sic requirerent, sed[12] in magna fuerint quantitate, nunquam tum illa invenire in aliquo potuerunt.[13] Sic autem dante Deo illa ad locum nostrorum fratrum tulimus diligenter, ubi cum honore et reverentia maxima fuerunt posita

[1] *Boll.* necessarius nobis.

[2] *Boll.* Posthæc mihi et socio meo mandarunt cuncti qui erant in navi dicentes: Vos surgentes adorate Dominum Deum vestrum; si vestris orationibus salutem consequamur honorem vobis maxime impendemus; sin autem, vos cum ossibus istis in pelago submergemus.

[3] *For* Armenice *as in Ven.* and all the others.

[4] *Boll.* ego clamavi ad Dominum Jesum Christum ut per merita istorum Fratrum dignaretur nostrum desiderium exaudire.

[5] *Far has* apodium navis.

[6] *Ven.* Zuncum; *Ut.* Zocum; *Far.* Cocum; *Mus.* Conchum; *Hak.* has omitted the term; as also *Boll.*, *Marc.* Zochi.

[7] *Ven.* Caytam; *Ut.* Zaytum; *Far.* Caitam; *Mus.* Caychan; *Hak.* Carchan; *Boll.* Sandon; *Ram.* Zailo.

[8] *Mus. absurdly has* in illa autem navicula erant bene LXX Christiani.

[9] *Ven.* inter nautas et mercatores.

[10] *Ven.* quod si mortuorum ossa reperta essent, statim, etc.

[11] *Ven. has* dicentes habentibus...imminere. *Hak.* Et per hoc bonum portum attingere et mortis periculi evadere crederent.

[12] *Ven. has* licet.

[13] *Mus. embellishes*, licet...illa frequenter tangerent, semper tamen eorum oculi sic miraculose delusi fuerunt, quod illa minime perpenderunt; *Hak. has nearly the same; Boll.* Domino Deo qui absconderat animas eorum in abscondito faciei suæ, ossa eorum ab infidelibus occultante.

condecenter.[1] Et sic multa alia operatur omnipotens Deus per istos sanctos fratres, cum adhuc hoc habeatur apud ydolatras et Sarracenos. Nam cum ipsi morbo aliquo detinentur, vadunt et accipiunt de terra illa in qua fuerunt imperfecti,[2] illam abluentes. Quæ cum sit ipsa lota, eam bibunt, statimque ab infirmitatibus suis totaliter liberantur.[3]

16. *Quomodo habeatur Piper; De regno Minibar.*

Ut autem sciamus quomodo habeatur piper, sciendum est quod in imperio[4] quodam ad quod applicui nomine Mimbar[5] nascitur ipsum piper; et non in aliqua parte mundi nascitur nisi ibi.[6] Nemus enim in quo nascitur ipsum piper continet bene in se xviii dietas. Et in ipso nemore sunt duæ civitates, una nomine Flandrina,[7] altera vero Zinglin.[8] In ista Flandrina habitancium aliqui sunt Judæi, aliqui vero Christiani. Inter has duas civitates[9] bellum intestinum semper habetur, ita tamen quod Christiani semper superant et vincunt Judæos. In hac contrata habetur piper per hunc modum. Nam primo nascitur in foliis quasi helerse,[10] quæ folia juxta magnas arbores plantantur sicut hic nostræ ponuntur vites; hæc folia producunt fructum ut uvarum racemi producuntur. In tanta autem producunt quantitate quod quasi videntur frangi. Cum autem ipsum erit maturum viridis est coloris. Et sic vindemiatur ut hic vindemiantur uvæ, ponendo[11] illud in solem ut desiccetur, quod cum desiccatum est ipsum in vasis collocatur.[12] In hoc etiam nemore sunt flumina in quibus sunt multæ malæ cocoldrigæ[13] (scilicet multi mali serpentes).[14] A capite nemoris istius versus meridiem civitas quædam habetur nomine Polumbum[15] in qua nascitur melius zinziber quod nascatur in mundo. Tot et tanta sunt mercimonia in ista civitate quod multis incredibile videtur.

17. *De moribus Indorum de Polumbo.*

Omnes in hac contrata adorant bovem pro deo suo, ipsum dicentes esse quasi sanctum, quem sex annis faciunt laborare et in septimo positus est in communi.[16] Hunc autem ritum in se continent et observant, qui est abhominabile.[17] Nam quolibet mane accipiunt duo bacilia de auro

[1] *Hak.* Ubi in pace requiescunt.
[2] *For* interfecti.
[3] *Boll.* præstante Domino nostro Jesu Christo.
[4] *Far. has absurdly* in pipere.
[5] *Ven.* Minibar; *Hak.* Do; *Far.* Minibarum; *Mus.* Mimbar; *Boll.* Examinibar; *Ram.* Munbar.
[6] *Ven.* Nusquam alibi; *Hak.* in nulla parte mundi tantum quantum ibi; *Far.* non...nisi ibi.
[7] *Ram.* Alandrina.
[8] *Hak.* Cyncilim; *Far.* Flandriam...Canglin; *Mus.* Zingelyn; *Marc.* Gingilin; *Ram.* Ziniglin.
[9] *Better Hak.* inter quos.
[10] *Ven.* ederæ; *Far.* oleri.
[11] *Mus.* et grana ponuntur ad.
[12] Et sic piper nascitur et custoditur.
[13] *Ven.* flumina habentia...cochodrillos; *Hak. and Far.* crocodili; *Mus.* cocodrilli.
[14] *Mus.* Et sunt etiam in isto nemore multi alii serpentes quos homines per stupam et paleas comburunt, et sic ad colligendum piper secure accedunt. *Hak.* has the like.
[15] *Hak.* et *Mus.* Polumbrum, *and the former says nothing of the ginger.*
[16] *Mus.* ab omni opere ipsum faciunt quiescere in loco solempni et communi ipsum ponentes et dicentes hunc ipsum animal esse sanctum. So *Hak.*
[17] *Ven. simply* talem autem consuetudinem et modum observant.

vel argento, quæ, quum dimittunt bovem ipsum de stabulo, ponunt sub illo. In uno quorum accipiunt urinam in altero vero immundiciam aliam.[1] De urina lavant facies suas, de altero vero immunditia ponunt primo in medio visus in uno loco; deinde super ambabus summitatibus genarum, et postea in medio pectore; ita quod in quatuor locis ipsi ponunt; quæ cum sic fecerunt dicunt se fore sanctificatos.[2] Et sicut facit populus sic et rex et regina. Hii similiter aliud ydolum adorant quod est per dimidium homo et per dimidium bos: hoc ydolum per os respondet quod multotiens sanguinem xl[3] virginum petit et requirit huic ydolo; ita homines et mulieres vovent suos filios[4] et suas [filias] ante ydolum istud, ut sibi eorum sanguis ymmolatur.[5] Unde multi moriuntur isto modo. Sic autem multa alia facit populus iste[6] quæ scribere et audire abhominatio esset quædam. In hac etiam insula multa alia habentur et nascuntur quæ non expedit scribere multum. Aliam autem consuetudinem pessimam habent ydolatræ hujus regni. Nam quando homo aliquis moritur, ipsum comburunt mortuum, et si uxorem habet ipsam comburunt vivam, cum dicant eam ire ad manendum[7] cum marito suo in alio mundo. Si autem mulier filios habet ex marito suo, cum eis manere potest[8] si vult. Si autem mulier moriatur, lex aliqua non inponitur viro, cum possit si vult aliam accipere in uxorem. Alia autem consuetudo illic habetur, nam mulieres vinum bibunt, homines vero non; mulieres etiam faciunt sibi radi visum et barbam, homines vero non;[9] et sic de multis aliis mirabilibus et bestialibus que illic fiunt quæ etiam scribere non expedit multum.

18. *De regno Mobar ubi est corpus B. Thomæ Apostoli, et de conditionibus ydololatrarum.*

Ab hoc regno sunt decem dietæ usque ad unum aliud regnum, nomine Mobar,[10] quod est multum magnum regnum, habens sub se multas civitates et terras. In hoc autem regno positum est corpus beati Thomæ apostoli, ecclesia cujus plena est ydolis multis. Penes etiam quam sunt forte xv domus Nestorinorum et Christianorum qui nequissimi et pessimi sunt heretici.[11] Similiter in regno isto est ydolum mirabile valde quod omnes contratæ Indiæ multum reverentur. Nam ipsum est magnum quantus sanctus Christoforus communiter depingitur a pictoribus, et est

[1] *Ven.* sterous.

[2] *Hak.* pro tota die illa.'

[3] *Far.* has iiii or virgines; *Hak.* aliquotiens pro stipendio petit sanguinem xl, etc.

[4] *Par.* 2. Et filias dare sicut hic alicui religioni, et sic per istum modum homines interficiunt filios suos et filias; *Ven.* to the same effect; also *Far.*, *Hak.*, et *Mus.* sicut Christiani aliqui alicui religioni vel sancto in cœlo. So also *Ram.*

[5] *Ram.* secondo che il profeta dice.

[6] *Hak.* bestialis. Immo, etc.

[7] *Hak.* in aratura et cultura cum viro suo in alio mundo.

[8] *Ven.* nec ei ad verecundiam imputatur; *Mus.* sine verecundia et improprio; *Hak.* improperio. Communiter tamen omnes præeligunt comburi cum marito.

[9] *Mus.* faciunt sibi radi cilia supercilia et barbam, et homines non, et sic est de aliis multis vilitatibus utriusque sexus. In *Hak. it is* cilia et supercilia et barbam *also*...et sic de multis aliis vilibus contra naturam sexus eorum.

[10] *Far. has* Bobarum; *Ram.* Mebor.

[11] *Hak.* et in circuitu ecclesiæ simul Canonici vivunt in 15 domibus Nestoriani, i.e., mali Christiani et Schismatici. *From Mus.* simul *should be* sicut; also...Christiani pessimi cismatici et nequissimi heretici. *Far. has* xvi domus.

totum de auro,[1] positum super unam magnam cathedram, quæ etiam est de auro. Et habent ad collum unam cordam de lapidibus[2] preciosis. Quæ autem corda precium multum et maximum valet.[3] Ejus ecclesia tota est de auro puro. Nam tectum totum est de auro; similiter et pavimentum.[4] Ad hoc ydolum orandum occurrunt gentes de longinquo sic christiani de longe vadunt[5] ad Sanctum Petrum. Ipsorum autem ad ydolum venientium alii cum corda ad collum pergunt;[6] alii cum manibus super unam tabulam ad collum ligatam; alii cum cultello in brachio[7] fixo et non removent usque quo pervenerunt ad ydolum, ita quod totum brachium postea habent marcidum.[8] Alii etiam sunt aliter facientes. Nam exeuntes domum suam faciunt tres passus; in quarto autem faciunt unam[9] veniam ita longam super terram sicut unus illorum esset. Accipiunt insuper unum thuribulum cum incenso etiam igne adolentes desuper illam longitudinem veniæ[10] ipsius. Sic enim faciendo usque ad ydolum ipsi vadunt unde bene magno tempore aliquando differunt ire ad ydolum ipsum cum sic ut dictum est semper faciendo vadunt. Cum autem sic vadunt, volentes aliquid facere signum unum[11] faciunt illic ubi faciunt hoc, ut sciant quantum processerunt. Hoc autem sic ipsi continuant donec ad ipsum ydolum devenerunt.[12]

19. *De aliis consuetudinibus ydololatrarum.*

Apud autem ecclesiam ydoli hujus est unus lacus manu factus[13] ad quem accedentes peregrini[14] projiciunt in ipsum aurum vel argentum vel aliquos lapides preciosos. Et hoc faciunt ipsi in honorem ydoli hujus et ecclesie edificationem, unde multum aurum et argentum lapidesque preciosi habentur in isto lacu. Ideoque cum in ecclesia ejus aliquid facere fieri volunt,[15] inquirunt per lacum istum et inveniunt omnia hæc que in ipso sunt projecta. Die autem[16] illo quo hoc ydolum sanctum[17] fuit, accedunt[18] illi de contrata accipientes ipsum de ecclesia, et illud

[1] *Hak.* et *Mus.* purissimo et splendidissimo.
[2] *Hak.* et *Mus.* Chordulam sericam cum lapidibus.
[3] *Hak.* cum lapidibus pretiosissimis quorum aliquis valet plusquam unum regnum.
[4] *Hak.* et *Mus.* et superficies parietum interius et exterius.
[5] *Ven.* peregre; *Far. has* vadunt Romam; *Mus.* sicut ad Stum. Jacobum aut Stum. Petrum.
[6] Alii cum manibus retro ligatis.
[7] Vel tibia.
[8] *Ven. has* corruptum; *Hak.* et *Mus. add* Illum reputant sanctum et bene cum deo suo.
[9] *Ven.* unam unciam veniam, *which I do not understand*; *Mus. has* unam venam sive lineam, *a mistaken gloss*; *Marc.* una invenia; *Ram.* una cava.
[10] *Ut. has* unciæ (?); *Far. instead of* veniæ ipsius *has* nomine albius *which seems nonsense*—perhaps misread by my copyist; *Mus.* lineæ sive venæ ipsius.
[11] *Far. has* signum unum abbie, *probably a misreading for* illic.
[12] *The whole of this passage about the* veniæ *is omitted in Hak. though retained in Mus., and this is, I think, the first material difference between these MSS.*
[13] *Hak.* et manifestus.
[14] *Mus.* in honorem ydoli et ad edificationem templi.
[15] *Hak.* quando aliquid debet ornari vel reparari.
[16] *Ven.* Annuatim autem die illo, etc.
[17] *Ven.* factum; *Hak.* et *Mus.* die autem annuo constructionis.
[18] *Mus.* Rex et regina illius terræ cum toto populo et omnibus peregrinis accedunt.

ponentes super uno pulchro[1] curru. Deinde rex et regina omnesque peregrini ad hoc cum populo toto, hii omnes similiter congregati ipsum educunt de ecclesia cum cantibus magnis et omni genere musicorum. Hoc autem ydolum cum sit eductus de ecclesia ejus, multæ virgines binæ et [binæ] ipsum[2] antecedunt euntes canendo mirabiliter ante ipsum.[3] Deinde accedunt etiam peregrini qui evenerunt ad hoc festum, et ponunt se sub isto curru, facientes eum super se transire cum dicunt se velle mori pro Deo suo. Et sic currus transiens super illos qui sunt sub eo, cunctos illos frangit per medium et scindit, unde statim moriuntur.[4] Sic autem faciendo ydolum ipsum ducunt usque ad unum locum deputatum, ad quem locum cum ipsum adduxerunt illum ad locum pristinum reducunt cum cantibus magnis et instrumentis sicut prius. Et sic non est annus in mundo in quo plures quingentis hominibus non moriantur isto modo. Horum autem corpora ipsi accipiunt et comburunt,[5] dicentes ea esse sancta cum se mori promiserint pro deo suo.[6] Aliud quoque fit ab istis, nam venit aliquis dicens, Volo me interficere pro deo meo, unde veniunt amici parentes et omnes hystriones de contrata ad faciendum illi festum, qui voluit pro deo suo mori. Unde appendunt ad collum ejus quinque cultellos acutissimos et ipsum[7] ducunt ante ydolum, tunc ille accipit unum ex cultellis illis acutissimis, et alta voce clamat dicens, Pro deo meo michi incido de carne mea. Cum autem inciderit de carne sua, de loco illo in quo voluit, eam projicit in faciem ydoli dicens; Me mori permitto[8] pro deo meo; et sic ibi tandem se interficit pro deo suo. Statimque ipso mortuo corpus ejus comburitur cum illud credatur ab illis esse sanctum quia pro deo suo se ipsum peremit. Sic autem multa alia magna et mirabilia fiunt ab istis quæ minime sunt scribenda. Rex autem insulæ vel provinciæ[9] hujus multum est dives, videlicet auri argenti lapidum preciosorum. In hac autem insula tot bonæ perlæ inveniuntur sicut in aliqua parte mundi, et sic de multis aliis quæ in ista insula reperiuntur. Quæ etiam nimis longum esset scribere.

20. *De Contrata Lamori quæ non videt tramontanam, et de Sumoltra.*

De hac contrata recedens et iens versus meridiem veni per mare oceanum quinquaginta dietis[10] ad unam contratam que vocatur Lamori,[11] in qua incepi amittere tramontanam cum terra michi acceperit eam. In ea autem ita inmensus est calor quod omnes illi [tam] homines quam mulieres vadunt nudi,[12] nullo se cooperientes. Hii de me multum truffabantur,[13] qui dicebant Deum Adam fecisse nudum, et ego me malo suo velle vestire volebam.[14] Nam in ista contrata omnes mulieres sunt positæ in

[1] *Hak.* pretiosissimo.
[2] *Ven. instead of* binæ et *has* hinc et hinc; *Far.* binæ et blnæ; also *Hak.* et *Mus.*
[3] *Hak.* processionaliter combinate modulantes; *Mus.* nearly the same.
[4] *Hak.* et per hoc reputant se mori pro deo suo sancte et secure.
[5] *Hak.* et cineres sicut reliquiæ custodiuntur.
[6] *This about the burning, etc., omitted in Mus.*
[7] *Ven.* cum magnis cantibus.
[8] *Ven.* dicens mori promitto.
[9] *Mus.* illius regionis.
[10] *Far.* has xv dietis.
[11] *Hak.* Lammori; *Mus. has* vocatam Sustabor (?) sive Lamory.
[12] *Far. has only* mulieres....nudæ.
[13] *Ven.* et tu vis ultra ejus velle vestiri.
[14] *Hak.* and *Mus.* qui videntes me vestitum deridebant me, dicentes Deum Adam et Evam fecisse nudos; *Boll.* Deus Adam nudum fecit, cur tu vestitus ambulas contra naturam? *Malo suo velle* = Malgré lui.

communi. Itaque nemo est qui dicere posset veraciter hæc est uxor mea, hic est maritus meus. Cum autem mulier filium vel filiam parit, ipsum vel ipsam dat uni illorum cui vult, cum quibus ipsa jam jacuit eumque vocat patrem suum. Tota terra posita est in communi, itaque nullus cum veritate dicere potest hæc vel illa pars terræ mea est. Domos tamen habent in speciali.[1] Ista gens pestifera est et nequam; ista gens comedit homines sicut nos boves, nam carnem humanam ita comedunt illic sicut hic carnes manzinæ[2] comeduntur, hæc tamen de se bona terra est. Nam magnam copiam carnium bladi et risi [habent], magnaque copia habetur illic de auro,[3] de lignis aloe, [de] ganfara,[4] de multisque aliis quæ ibi nascuntur.[5] Ad hanc insulam accedunt mercatores de longinquo portantes secum homines[6] vendentesque illos[7] infidelibus ipsis, quos cum emerent eos interficiunt[8] et comedunt, et sic de multis aliis et bonis et malis quæ non scribuntur. In hac eadem insula versus meridiem habetur aliud regnum nomine Sumolchra[9] in quo est una generatio gentis singularis signantis se ferro calido parvo bene in duodecim locis in facie. Et hoc faciunt tam homines quam mulieres. Hii semper gerunt bellum cum hiis qui vadunt nudi. In hac contrata est magna copia rerum. Penes quam est unum aliud regnum nomine Rotemgo[10] versus meridiem. Multa quæ non scribo nascuntur in illo regno.

21. *De optima insula Jauâ.*

Penes[11] hoc regnum est una magna insula nomine Jana,[12] quæ bene tribus millibus miliarium[13] circumdatur. Rex hujus Janæ habet bene sub se septem reges coronæ. Hæc insula multum bene habitatur. Et est melior insula que habeatur.[14] In ipsa enim nascuntur[15] cubebæ, melegetæ,[16] nucesque muscatæ, multæque aliæ species pretiosæ. In eâ est copia magna victualium preterquam vini. Rex istius insulæ unum habet palatium valde mirabile.[17] Nam ipsum est valde magnum,[18] cujus scalæ multum sunt magnæ altæ latæque: horum graduum unus est

[1] *Ven.* Domos tamen proprias habent; *Hak.* and *Mus.* speciales.
[2] *Far.* Porcinæ.
[3] *Boll.* amaraco *instead of the preceding words.*
[4] *Mus.* Ganfar.
[5] Here *Mus. inserts* Tamen gens pestifera est, etc., omitted before.
[6] *Ven.* infantes; *Hak.* homines pingues.
[7] *Ven.* more bestiarum; *Hak.* and *Mus.* sicut nos vendimus porcos.
[8] *Ven.* in macello; *Boll.* has this much shorter.
[9] *Ven.* and *Ram.* Sumoltra; *Far.* Simultam *or* Simultra; *Hak.* Sumolcra; *Mus.* Simoltra sive Sumolara; *Boll.* Zumptloc (probably misread); *Marc.* Sumoltra.
[10] *Ven.* Bothonigo; *Far.* Betonigo; *Mus.* Boteingo et juxta illud aliud regnum de quo nihil scribo nec de hiis quæ ibi nascuntur; *Boll.* Resengo; *Ram.* Botterigo; *Hak.* omits this kingdom of Rotemgo, etc., altogether; *Marc.* Botemgo.
[11] *Ven.* Juxta.
[12] *Ven.* Java; *Hak.* and *Boll.* Jaua; *Far.* and *Mus.* have Jana; *Marc.* Java.
[13] *Ven.* Secunda melior insularum; *Far.* tertia melior; *Hak.* melior secunda; *Mus.* secunda melior....ut dicitur; *Bol.* est de melioribus Indiæ una.
[14] *Far.* tribus milliariis; *Hak.* cujus ambitus per mare bene trium millium, etc.
[15] *Ven. has* also camphora; *Far.* ganfora; *Hak. has* garyophylli, cubibæ et nuces muscatæ.
[16] *Mus.* et breviter omnes fere preciosæ species ibi sunt.
[17] *Boll.* quod multis impossibile videretur.
[18] *Hak.* and *Mus.* et altissime stat.

aureus alter vero argenteus. Pavimentum autem ejus unum laterem habet de auro, alterum vero de argento. Murus vero istius palatii totus est lamatus interius lamis aureis,[1] in quibus lamis sculpti sunt equites solum de auro habentes circa caput unum magnum circulum aureum sicut hic habent nostri sancti; hic autem circulus totus est plenus lapidibus preciosis. Insuper tectum ejus totum est de auro puro; ut autem breviter et finaliter nos loquamur, hoc palatium ditius et pulchrius est quod hodie sit in mundo. Canis[2] tamen grandis Cathaii multocieus fuit in bello in campo cum isto, quem iste semper vicit et superavit. Sic etiam multa alia sunt quæ non scribo.

22. *De contratâ Talamasin et arboribus ejus farinam dantibus, etc.*

Penes hanc contratam est una alia contrata quæ vocatur Patem[3] quam alii vocant Talamasim.[4] Rex hujus contratæ multas insulas habet sub se. In hac contrata inveniuntur arbores farinam producentes; aliquæ etiam quæ mel producunt[5] aliquodque venenum, quod est periculosius venenum quod sit in mundo. Nam circa ipsum non invenitur aliquod remedium nisi unum. Nam si aliquis de illo veneno sumpsisset accipiat de stercore hominis et ipsum distemperet aqua, quem et[6] bibat, propter quod ab illo veneno totaliter liberabitur.[7] Arbores autem isto modo farinam producunt. Nam ipsæ sunt magnæ, non tamen multum altæ,[8] etiam eas una securi incidunt circa pedem,[9] propter quod quidam liquor ab ipsis exhauritur ad modum collæ[10] quem liquorem ipsi ponunt in saccis factis ex foliis, quos dimittunt per xv dies in sole et in fine xv dierum ex ipso liquore farina facta est, quam postea ponunt per duos in aqua maris; deinde lavant eam aqua dulci et sic faciunt pastam bonam[11] de mundo. Et tunc de ipsa faciunt quid volunt, seu cibos seu panem multum bonum, de quo ego frater Odoricus[12] jam comedi; hæc autem omnia propriis oculis ego vidi. Hujus modi autem panis exterius pulcher est, interius autem[13] niger est. In ripa[14] hujus contratæ versus meridiem est mare mortuum, aqua cujus semper currit versus meridiem. Et si aliquis per juxta ipsius ripam vadit, et cadit in aquam, nunquam ille qui talis invenitur. In hac etiam contrata sunt canaveriæ[15] seu arundines longæ bene pluribus lx passibus, magnæ ut arbores. Aliæ etiam cannæ

[1] *Hak.* parietes....laminati laminis aureis; *Boll.* muri quoque ejus intrinsecus laminis aureis sunt vestiti.

[2] *Ven.* Chaam; *Hak.* Canis de Katay.

[3] *Ven.* and *Hak.* Panten; *Far.* Panthen; *Ut.* Paten; *Boll.* Pacen; *Marc.* Paten; *Ram.* Paten.

[4] *Ven.* Malamasin; *Far.* Thamalsi; *Ut.* Malamasmi; *Hak.* Tathala masim; *Boll.* Thalamasym; *Mus.* Thalamasin; *Marc.* Talamaxim; *Ram.* Malamasmi.

[5] *Ven.* Sunt etiam producentes mel, et aliquæ producentes vinum, etc.

[6] *Hak.* in bona quantitate.

[7] *Hak.* statim fugat venenum faciens exire per inferiores partes; *Mus. to same effect, adding* et sic erit salvatus et a veneno totaliter liberatus.

[8] *Far. has a large hiatus from* quem et bibat *to this.*

[9] *Hak.* magnæ et bassæ: *Mus.* magnæ et multum altæ.

[10] *Hak.* sicut gummæ; *Mus.* sicut gumma collæ.

[11] *Hak.* et *Mus.* et odorifera (m).

[12] *Boll.* non solum pro necessitate sed etiam pro delectatione pluries manducavi.

[13] *Ven., Far., Hak., Mus., Boll.* aliquantulum niger.

[14] *Far.* riveriâ.

[15] *Ven.* Cannæ variæ (*no* seu arundines). *Far. has* Canaveriæ.

reperiuntur que vocantur Casan.[1] Hæc per terram semper diriguntur ut quædam herba quæ apud nos appellatur gramegna. Et in quolibet nodo ipsarum radices producunt quæ[2] bene efficiuntur longæ uno miliari. In hiis autem cannis inveniuntur lapides de quibus aliquis super se hiis nunquam potest incidi a ferro aliquo nec offendi. Et ut plurimum homines istius contratæ de istis lapidibus sunt super se portantes. Ideoque propter virtutem horum lapidum veniunt homines et accipiunt puerulos suos quos in brachio per quod modicum ipsi incidunt, ubi unum de istis lapidibus isti ponunt ne ipse ferro aliquo cadat. Et ut illum parvum vulnus factum in brachio alicujus pueri cito solidetur, de quodam pulvere unius piscis ipsi[3] ponunt, propter quod vulnus illud parvum statim solidatur. Et quia hujus lapidis magnæ sunt virtutes et de istis illi homines sunt portantes,[4] ex hoc in bello efficiuntur fortes[5] et magni cursores[6] in mari. Verum quia navigantes permare ab istis talibus offenduntur unum remedium invenerunt. Nam ipsi portant propugnacula seu palos acutissimos de uno fortissimo ligno, portant [que] sagittas cum[7] ferro.[8] Et quia homines illi male sunt armati, per mare navigantes eos vulnerant et penetrant istis pilis acutissimis et sagittis. Sic isto modo[9] isti tales ab illis se viriliter defendunt. De cannis istis Casan faciunt vela suis navibus, sestoria,[10] domunculas,[11] multaque alia quæ sibi sunt utilitatis magnæ. Multa etiam alia sunt in contrata ista quæ scribere et audire quasi stupor esset. Quapropter ea scribere ad presens non multum curo.[12]

23. *De rege Campa, habente multos elephantes et multos filios filiasque.*

Ab isto regno per multas dietas est distans aliud regnum nomine Campa,[13] cujus contrata multum pulchra est. Nam in ipsa est copia magna omnium victualium, et bonorum. Rex contratæ illius ut dicebatur quando ibi fui inter filios et filias ducentos[14] bene habebat; cum multas habeat uxores aliasque mulieres quas ipse tenet.[15] Hic rex xiiii milia[16] elephantum domesticorum habet. Quos ita teneri facit et observari,

[1] *Far.* Cassam; *Mus.* Cassati, *with the absurd addition* ex quibus in apotecariis inveniuntur cassia fistulæ. *Ram. has* casar.

[2] *Ven. has* et *instead of* quæ, *which is better. Fur.* ramos producunt qui bene, etc. *Hak.* et *Mus. nearly to the same effect*—per unum miliare fere.

[3] *Hak.* et *Mus.* cujus nomen ignoro.

[4] *Ven.* omits this superfluous sentence.

[5] *Ven.* feroces. *Hak.* et *Mus.* communiter triumphant in bellis et in mari, nec possunt isti homines lædi per aliqua arma ferrea.

[6] *Ven.* maximi pirati.

[7] *Ven.* absque, *which is required.*

[8] *Far.* sine ferro.

[9] *Hak. has* Quod adversarii illius gentis scientes virtutem lapidum provident sibi propugnacula ferrea contra spicula illorum, et arma venenata de veneno, et in manu portant palos ligneos, etc....et sic confundunt aliquos et perforant inermes ex lapidum securitate. *Mus. is to the same effect and more diffusely expressed.*

[10] *Far. omits* sestoria.

[11] *Ven.* tali ergo ingenio.

[12] *Mar.* Case di stuoie.

[13] *This was probably written* Çampa; *Ven.* Zampa; *Far.* Canpa or Carpa; *Hak.* Campa; *Marc.* Campa.

[14] *Hak.* 300.

[15] *Bol. has in this place* nec mirabar de hoc cum plures habuerit uxores.

[16] *Hak.* decies millesies et quatuor; *Mus.* xiii millia.

ab illis hominibus de villis suis[1] qui sibi sunt subjecti sicut hic boves. Aliaque multa animalia tenentur ad socedam. In ista eadem contrata unum mirabile quid reperitur. Nam unaquæque generatio piscium qui sunt in mari, ad hanc contratam in tanta venit quantitate quod dum sic veniunt nichil aliud videtur in mari nisi pisces.[2] Hii autem cum prope ripam sint se projiciunt super illam.[3] Cum sic autem sunt in ripa veniunt homines et tot de ipsis habent et accipiunt et quod ipsi volunt. Hii autem pisces duobus vel tribus diebus manent super ripam. Deinde venit alia generatio piscis faciens hoc idem sicut prima. Sic etiam de aliis singulisque usque ad ultimam ordinate procedunt, quod tantum semel faciunt in anno. Cum de isto quæritur ab illis de ista contrata quare sic fiat, ipsi respondent et dicunt: Quod hoc faciunt isti pisces qui isto modo veniunt suum imperatorem revereri. In eadem etiam contrata vidi unam testitudinem majorem quam esset revolutio trulli ecclesiæ sancti Antonii de Padua.[4] Sic etiam de multis aliis quæ forte aliquibus incredibilia viderentur nisi illa viderent, quare ea scribere non curo. Cum etiam in contrata aliquis moritur habens uxorem, ipse mortuus comburitur, uxor ejus [vero] viva.[5] Nam dicunt quod ipsa cum suo marito vadit ad alium mundum ut illic moretur cum eo.[6]

24. *De Insula ubi Cynocephali.*

De ista contrata recedens et navigans per mare Occeanum versus meridiem reperi multas insulas et contratas. Quarum una est quæ vocatur Sacimeram.[7] Hæc insula magna est, circuiens bene per duo milia miliarium; in qua homines et mulieres facies caninas habent. Hii unum bovem adorant pro deo suo, propter quod unusquisque unum bovem de auro vel argento semper portat in fronte, in signum quod ille bos est deus eorum. Omnes istius contratæ tam homines quam mulieres nudi vadunt, nihil de mundo portantes nisi unam toaleam[8] qua suam verecundiam ipsi tegunt. Hii sunt magni corpore et valde fortes in bello, ad quod dum sic nudi pergunt solum unum scutum[9] portant quod eos cooperit à capite usque ad pedes. Dum sic autem vadunt ad bellum et eos contingat capere aliquem in bello qui pecunia exigi[10] non possit, statim comedunt ipsum. Si vero pecunia exigi possit eum habita pecunia abire permittunt. Rex istius contratæ bene tres centas[11] perlas portat ad collum multum magnas, propter[12] quod pro diis suis quotidie trecentas orationes ipse facit. Habet etiam unum lapidem preciosum bene[13] longum et magnum unâ spensâ, in manu sua[14] portat, quem lapidem sic

[1] *Bol.* qui nutriuntur a villanis sibi subjectis sicut apud nos boves et alia animalia conservantur.

[2] *Hak.* et *Mus.* per magnum spatium maris nihil videtur nisi dorsa piscium.

[3] *Hak.* et *Mus.* super aridam.

[4] *Hak.* et *Mus.* Ibi etiam sunt testudines ita magni sicut est unus furnus.

[5] *Hak.* et *Mus.* sicut superius de alia contrata dictum est.

[6] *Ven.* ut in alio mundo similiter conversetur cum eo; *Hak.* et *Mus. add* ne ibi aliam uxorem accipiat.

[7] *Ven.* Nicuueran; *Far.* Nichovera; *Hak.* Moumoran; *Mus.* Mochimoran; *Bol.* Insimezan, *probably misread*; *Marc.* Nicuveran.

[8] *Hak.* et *Mus.* unum pannum lineum.

[9] *Hak. has* unum scutum de ferro; *Mus. to same effect.*

[10] *Ven.* redimi.

[11] *Mus.* cc.

[12] *Ven.* propterea.

[13] *Ven. instead of* bene *has* rubinum; *Far. as in text.*

[14] *Hak.* in digito suo; *Boll.* ita magnam quam sicut unâ manu gestare possem.

portans una flamma ignis ipse videtur esse.[1] Et ut dicitur iste est nobilior et preciosior lapis qui hodie sit in mundo. Verumptamen magnus imperator Tartarorum Cathaii illum lapidem preciosum nec vi, nec pecunia nec etiam ingenio unquam habere potuit. In hac etiam contratâ ipse rex bene justitiam tenet et observat, unde per totum suum regnum quilibet potest ire securus.[2] Multa etiam in hac contrata sunt quæ etiam ego scribere non curo.

25. *De Insula Sillan et ejus mirabilibus.*

Alia est insula Sillan,[3] circuiens bene plura quam duo milia miliarium in qua sunt serpentes infiniti, multaque alia animalia silvestria in magna quantitate[4] ut potissime elephantes. In hac contrata est unus maximus mons de quo dicunt gentes quod super illo Adam planxit filium suum centum[5] annis. In medio montis hujus[6] est quædam pulcherrima planicies in qua est unus lacus non multum magnus.[7] Sed tamen est bene in eo aqua magna quam dicunt gentes esse lacrimas quas Adam et Eva effuderunt, quod tamen non creditur esse verum,[8] cum tamen intus nascatur aqua illa. Profunditas[9] hujus aquæ plena est lapidibus preciosis. Quæ aqua multum est yrundinibus[10] et sanguisugis plena. Hos lapides non accipit ille rex, sed pro anima sua semel vel bis in anno sub aquas ipsos pauperes ire permittit, et quotquot ex lapidibus istis capere possunt omnes dimittit eis.[11] Et ut ipsi pauperes ire sub aquam possint accipiunt limonem et quemdam fructum quem bene pistant,[12] et illo bene se ungunt et tunc in aquam se mergunt. Et cum sic sint uncti yrundines[13] et sanguisugæ illos offendere non valent. Sic isto modo pauperes sub intrant aquam, et exeunt accipientes si possunt de lapidibus istis preciosis. Aqua quæ descendit per montem exit ab isto lacu. Et[14] ibi fodiuntur boni robini et boni dyamantes reperiuntur et multi, sic et multi lapides alii boni; ibi etiam reperiuntur bonæ perlæ, quo aqua ista descendit ad mare. Unde dicitur quod rex iste habet plures lapides preciosos quam aliquis alius rex qui hodie sit in mundo. In hac insulâ sunt diversa genera animalium sicut avium et multorum animalium quæ morantur ibi. Unde dicunt illi de contrata

[1] *Ven. instead of* quem.....esse, *has* qui recte flamma ignis esse videtur; *Hak.* dum habet illum videtur ab aliis quasi una flamma ignis et ideo nullus audet sibi appropinquare; *Mus.* nearly the same.

[2] *Hak. omits this sentence about the king's justice, etc.*

[3] *Ven.* Sillam; *Far.* Silam; *Hak.* Ceilan (the MS. in B. M. has Sylan, almost the only difference from Hakluyt's printed copy); *Mus. has* Salam.

[4] *Hak.* et *Mus.* et max. multit. leonum ursorum et omnium animalium rapacium.

[5] *Hak.* 500 annis; *Mus. as in text.*

[6] *Ven.* In montis cujus cacumine.

[7] *Far. has omitted the* non; *Hak.* et *Mus. have* parvus.

[8] *Hak.* et *Mus.* sed probavi hoc falsum esse quia vidi aquam in lacu scaturire; *Boll.* gentes errore delusæ.....cum tamen videatur ipsa aqua e visceribus terræ scaturire.

[9] *Ven.* Fundus; *Far.* as in text.

[10] Yrundinibus *for* hirudiuibus.

[11] *Hak.* et *Mus.* ut orent pro anima sua, *omitting these last three words above.*

[12] *Ven.* limonibus optime frictis optime corpus totum linunt; *Ut.* accipiunt bavoyrem, id est quemdam fructum quem bene pistant; *Far.* acc. limones quos bene pistant.

[13] as above.

[14] *Mus.* et in transitu quando retrahit se fodiuntur, etc.

quod hæc animalia multum forensem lædunt non illos qui ibi sunt nati.[1] In hac insula etiam sunt aves multum magnæ sicut sunt anseres, qui duo capita in se habent.[2] Hæc etiam insula maximam copiam habet victualium et multorum aliorum bonorum quæ non scribo.

26. *De Insula Dondin et ejus consuetudinibus turpissimis.*

De ista insula recedens et pergens versus meridiem ad quamdam magnam insulam me applicui quæ vocatur Dondin,[3] quæ idem est quod immundum.[4] In insula ista mali homines commorantur. Nam ipsi carnes aridas[5] comedunt omnemque alium immundiciam quæ jam dici posset.[6] Turpem inter se consuetudinem habent. Nam pater comedit filium et filius comedit patrem, uxor maritum et maritus uxorem; et hoc per istum modum. Ponatur quod pater alicujus illorum infirmetur; filius tunc ipse ibit ad astrologum et ad[7] sacerdotem cui sic dicet: Domine, ite vos ad sciendum a Deo nostro, si pater meus possit ab ista infirmitate liberari vel ex ipsâ mori debet. Tunc ipse sacerdos et alius homo cujus pater infirmatur accedunt ad ipsum ydolum quod est de auro vel de argento eique faciunt orationem et dicunt: Domine, tu es Deus noster, quem pro Deo nos adoramus, nobis respondeas ad ea quæ tibi nos dicemus. Taliter homo multum infirmatur; ideo te petimus si mori debeat ex hoc languore vel liberari. Tunc demon per os ydoli respondet et dicit: Pater tuus non morietur, sed de ista liberabitur infirmitate; verum tale quid sibi facere debes et sic liberabitur ipse. Ita quod ille demon totum ipsum illum modum [dicit] quem circa patrem suum tenere debet.[8] Deinde filius ad patrem accedit, et sibi diligenter servit donec ipse totaliter liberatur.[9] Si autem demon ille dicat ipsum debere mori, sacerdos ad eum accedet et unum pannum[10] super os suum ipse ponet, et sic eum statim suffocabit et morietur. Cum autem sic interfecit eum ipsum incidet in frusta et ad ipsum comedendum invitabuntur amici, parentes, omnesque hystriones[11] de contrata, et ipsum comedent cum cantibus et gaudio magno; ejus tamen ossa accipient, illa ponentes sub terra cum magna sollempnitate. Parentes autem illi qui ad has nuptias non fuerunt sibi ad verecundiam maximam reputabant. Hos tales[12] multum reprehendebam, dicens: Quare sic facitis vos cum hoc quod facitis sit contra omnem rationem. Nam si canis aliquis occideretur et ante alium canem poneretur ipse de illo nullatenus manducaret; ne dum vos qui homines videmini rationales. Ad hoc mihi respondebant dicentes, hoc facimus ne vermes comedant ejus

[1] *Ven. better* nullum forensem lædunt, et solummodo illos qui nati sunt in ipsa; *Far.* to the same effect, also *Hak.*

[2] *Far. absurdly has* mille capita. Probably II taken for M.

[3] *Ut.* Dandin; *Hak. alone has* Bodin, *but probably a misprint, as it is* Dodin *in the MS., which I take for Hakluyt's original*; *Mus.* Dodyn; *Boll.* Dodyn; *Marc.* Dondin.

[4] *For* crudas *as in Ven.*

[5] *Mus.* idem est quod mundus.

[6] *Hak.* quæ quasi excogitare non poterit, *to which Mus. adds* sive dici.

[7] *Ven. has* id est.

[8] *Boll.* Tunc dæmon quandoque ex Idolo de convalescentia respondit, jubens procuratione illius in fine aliquas fieri ceremonias et oblationes et docens filium quomodo nutriat patrem.

[9] *Mus.* Usque ad plenam convalescentiam juxta documentum diaboli patri ministrat.

[10] *Ven.* pannum linum.

[11] *Ut.* jaculatores.

[12] Ego frater Odoricus.

carnes. Nam si ejus carnes vermes comederent ipsius anima magnas pateretur pœnas; ideoque carnem ejus comedimus, ut ejus anima aliquas non patiatur pœnas. Et sic eis tantum dicere poteram quantum ego volebam quia nunquam aliud credere ipsi volebant nec ab isto ritu discedere quem tenebant.

27. *De Indiâ et* xxiv *millibus Insularum quas habet.*

Multæ aliæ novitates hic habentur quæ non scribo, nam nisi homo eas videret, eas credere non posset, cum in toto non sint mundo tot et tanta mirabilia quæ sunt in isto regno. Hæc autem scribi feci quæ certus sum, et in nullo dubito quia sicut refero ita est.[1] De[2] hac insula[3] diligenter inquisivi multos qui hoc sciunt et omnes uno ore locuntur et dicunt, quod hæc India bene xxiiii[4] milia insularum continet sub se, in qua etiam sunt bene lxiiii reges coronæ. Major pars hujus insulæ[5] bene ab hominibus habitatur. Hic ipsius Indiæ facio finem et nichil de ea dicere volo aliud, sed solum intendo aliquid dicere de India superiori.

28. *Venit Fr. Odoricus ad Indiam Superiorem et Provinciam Manzi.*

Ubi sciendum est quod dum navigarem per mare Occeanum versus Orientem per multas dietas ad illam nobilem provinciam Mansi[6] ego veni quam Indiam vocamus superiorem.[7] De ista India quæssivi diligenter Christianos, Sarracenos, ydolatros, omnes officiales magni Canis[8] qui omnes uno ore loquuntur et dicunt quod provincia Manzi[9] habet bene duo millia magnarum civitatum, quæ in tantum sunt magnæ illæ civitates quod Trevisium neque Vincentia in ipsarum numerum ponerentur;[10] unde tanta multitudo est in ista contrata quod apud nos esset incredibile quoddam.[11] In ipsa est maxima copia panis, vini, risi, carnium, piscium, omniumque victualium, quibus homines utuntur in mundo. Omnes homines hujus provinciæ sunt artifices[12] et mercatores qui paupertatem quam habeant[13] dummodo se suis manibus valeant adjuvare nunquam aliquam peterent elemosinam. Hii homines satis sunt corpore pulchri,[14] pallidi tamen, habentes barbam ita raram et longam sicut[15] murilegæ, id est cattæ; mulieres vero pulcherrimæ de mundo.[16]

[1] *Hak.* Ego autem coram Deo nihil hic refero nisi illud de quo certus sum sicut homo certificare poterit.

[2] *Ven. has* in *instead of* de.

[3] *Far.* De hac India Inferiori (*no doubt* Insula *is wrong*) sunt aliæ hæc insulæ quæ nominavi et inquisivi multos qui hoc sciunt, etc.; *Boll.* De magnitudine hujus inferioris Indiæ a multis, etc.

[4] *Hak.* 4400; *Boll.* Viginti quatuor millia.

[5] *Mus.* istius Indiæ; *so also Boll. Marc. has* queste isole, *which indicates the right reading.*

[6] *Mus.* Mansiæ; *Ven.* et *Far.* Manzi; *Hak.* Manci; *Boll.* Manzy.

[7] *Hak.* quæ India vocatur a Latinis.

[8] *Ven.* Chaam.

[9] *Mus.* Mancy.

[10] *Far.* Tarvisium.

[11] *Boll.* intra muros ipsarum cujuslibet possent stare.

[12] *Ven.* artistæ.

[13] *Mus.* nullam paupertatem habent; *Boll.* qui numquam depauperantur.

[14] *Hak.* Satis formosi.

[15] *Hak.* rasas et parvas barbas habentes; *Mus.* raras et parvas sed tamen longas sicut murilegi.

[16] *Mus.* Pulcherrimæ et formosæ; *Boll.* nimium sunt formosæ.

28. *De Civitate Cens-Kalan.*

Prima civitas hujus provinciæ quam inveni vocatur Cens scolan ;[1] hæc civitas bene ita magna est pro tribus Venetiis,[2] distans a mari per unam dietam, posita super unum flumen, cujus aqua propter[3] ipsum mare ascendit ultra terram bene xii dietis. Totus populus hujus civitatis totiusque provinciæ Manzi Indiæque superioris ydolatrat.[4] Hæc civitas tantum navigium habet et ita magnum quod quasi aliquibus incredibile videretur, unde tota Ytalia non habet navigium ita magnum sicut hæc civitas sola habet.[5] In hâc civitate haberi possunt bene trecentæ[6] libræ zinziberis recentis minori uno grosso. In hac etiam sunt majores et pulchriores anseres ac melius forum[7] quam hoc sit in mundo, unde unus illorum anserum est bene magnus pro duobus de nostris, totus albus ut lac, habens unum os super caput unius ovi quantitate, qui talis coloris est qualis sanguis est. Et hii anseres habent sub gulâ unam pellem per unum semissem[8] pendentem ; hii etiam sunt pinguissimi ; unus quorum bene coctus et conditus minor uno grosso haberetur. Et sicut est de anseribus sic etiam de anatibus et gallinis, quæ illic sunt ita magnæ quod magnum mirum est. Hic etiam majores sunt serpentes qui sunt in mundo ; hii multum capiuntur ab istis a quibus postea dulciter comeduntur. Unde in tam sollempne ferculum habentur ii serpentes, quod faciens fieri convivium unum[9] de istis non habens serpentibus nil facere diceretur. Hæc etiam civitas magnam habet habundantiam omnium victualium quæ sunt in mundo.

30. *De nobili civitate Zayton et de pastu ydolorum.*

De ista contrata recedens et inde transiens per multas terras et civitates, veni ad quamdam nobilem terram nomine Zayton.[10] In qua nos fratres minores habemus duo loca ; ad quæ portavi ossa illorum nostrorum fratrum minorum qui passi fuerunt martirium pro fide Jhesu Christi. In hac civitate est copia omnium illorum quæ sunt necessaria humanæ vitæ.[11] Nam tres libræ et octo unciæ zuchari minori dimidio grosso[12] habentur ibi. Hæc civitas magna est sicut bis esset[13] Bononia. In hac multa sunt monasteria religiosorum qui ydola universaliter adorant. In uno autem istorum monasteriorum ego fui in quo bene erant tria milia religiosorum habentium[14] xi millia ydola ;[15] et unum illorum ydolorum quod minus aliis esse videbatur erat bene ita mag-

[1] *Ven.* Conscala ; *Ut.* Censcula ; *Far.* Censcalam ; *Hak.* Censkalon, *also Mus. Boll.* Soustalay (*probably misread*) ; *Marc.* Censscalan.

[2] *Ven.* quæ est in triplo major Vincencia ; *Ut. as in text* ; so also *Far.* ; and *Mus.*, though in another place.

[3] *Far. has* prope ; *Hak.* prope mare cui contiguatur (?) ; *Mus.* cujus aqua propter mare ita contiguum bene per XII dietas super ipsam terram ascendit. *Boll. as in text.*

[4] *Ven.* Ydola colit.

[5] This last comparison is omitted by *Hak.*

[6] *Boll.* centum libræ.....uno minori grosso Veneto.

[7] *Ven.* in meliori foro ; *Hak.* maius forum (*probably misread*).

[8] *Hak.* et *Mus.* semipedalem.

[9] *Mus. has* unum ad minus (*au moins*).

[10] *Far.* Caicham ; *Mus.* Kaycon ; *Hak.* Kaitam ; *Boll.* Saiton ; *Marc.* Zaitan.

[11] *Hak.* pro lenissimo foro.

[12] *Ut.* minori pretio uno grosso.

[13] *Mus.* ut fideliter assero.

[14] *Boll.* sub curâ suâ.

[15] *Far.* omits the millia.

num esset sicut Sanctus Christophorus. Illâ autem horâ quâ istis diis suis dant ad manducandum ivi ad videndum. Et hii isto modo comedere sibi dant. Omnia quæ illis offerunt comedenda eis calidissima[1] porrigunt, ita quod fumus illorum ascendit ad ydola quem ipsi pro comestione istorum ydolorum esse dicunt, aliud autem totum pro se habent et manducant;[2] et sic isto modo dicunt se bene pascere deos suos.[3] Verumptamen hæc terra de melioribus est quæ hodie sint in mundo; et hoc in iis que posset habere corpus humanum.[4] Multa alia de hac terra dici possent quæ non ulterius modo scribo.

31. *De civitate Fuzo et de mirabilibus modis piscandi.*

De hac contrata veni versus orientem ad unam civitatem quæ vocatur Fucho,[5] quæ bene circuit per xxx miliaria, in qua sunt majores galli qui sunt in mundo. Gallinæ vero[6] sunt albæ ut nix, non habentes pennas sed solum lanam ut pecus sunt portantes. Hæc civitas multum pulchra et sita super mare de quâ recedens ivi xviii dietis transiens per multas terras et civitates, aliaque diversa multa. Dum autem sic irem veni ad unum magnum montem, in unius cujus latere montis, omnia animalia illic habitancia nigra sunt,[7] et homines et mulieres valde estraneum modum vivendi habent. Ab alio autem latere montis omnia animalia alba sunt,[8] hominesque et mulieres ab aliis diversum modum vivendi habent. Omnes mulieres innuptæ unum magnum barile de cornu in capite portant ut cognoscantur quia nuptæ sunt. Hinc transiens per xviii alias dietas et per multas terras et civitates, et veniens ad unum magnum flumen, applicui ad unam civitatem quæ per transversum istud flumen habet unum pontem, in capite cujus in domo cujusdam hospitis fui, qui michi volens complacere dixit: Si tu vis videre bene piscari veni mecum; et sic me duxit super pontem istum. In quo dum sic essem aspexi atque vidi in illis suis barchis[9] mergos[10] super perticas alligatos, quos postea ille homo uno filo ligavit ad gulam ne illi se in aquam submergentes et pisces capientes illos comedere possent.[11] Unde in barcha una posuit tres magnas cistas unam ab uno capite navis, secundam ab alio, tertiam vero posuit in medio. Dum autem sic fecisset illos dissolvit mergos, qui se postea in aquam submergebant, et sic pisces quam plurimos capiebant, quos ipsimet postea in illis cistis ponebant, unde in parvâ horâ omnes illæ cistæ fuerunt plenæ. Ipse autem dum sic plenæ essent a collo eorum filum accipiebat et eos in aqua submergere permittebat, ut inde piscibus pascerentur; cum autem pasti essent ad sua loca revertuntur, et eos ibi ligat sicut prius erant; ego autem de piscibus illis manducavi.[12] Transiens inde per multas dietas alium modum piscandi ego vidi. Nam sunt homines habentes

[1] *Hak.* et *Mus.* et fumigantia.
[2] *Boll. has* sumunt et pro suis usibus reservant.
[3] *Mus.* Et sic de fumo tantum deos suos pascunt.
[4] *Ven.* Et hoc in necessariis corpori humani.
[5] *Ven.* Fuzo; *Far.* Fuc; *Hak.* Fuko; *Mus.* Fuco; *Boll.* Suctio (*misread probably*); *Marc.* Fuzo.
[6] *Boll.* ita magnæ non sunt, sed.
[7] *Hak.* ut carbo; *Bol. has simply* in cujus latere nigra animalia morabantur, ex alio autem latere ejusdem montis animalia sunt alba.
[8] *Hak.* ut nix.
[9] *Hak. has* brachiis (*clearly an error*) *and so translated.*
[10] *Far. has* smergos.
[11] *Ven.* ne cum pisces cepissent ipsos deglutire possent.
[12] *Hak.* et optimi mihi videbantur.

unam tinam calidâ aquâ plenam in unâ barchâ, qui nudi erant habentes singuli post collum unum saccum, et se submergentes in aquam, pisces manibus capiebant ponentes eos in saccis suis, et cum ascendebant eos in barcha sua ponebant; postea in aquam illam calidam se ponentes;[1] tunc alius ibat faciens sicut primus, et sic isto modo multos pisces capiebant.[2]

32. *De civitate Cansaiâ quæ maxima est de mundo.*

Hinc ego recedens veni ad aliam civitatem nomine Cansaiæ[3] quod idem est quod civitas cœli. Hæc civitas major aliquâ quæ sit in mundo,[4] et bene circuit c miliaria. In ipsa non est spansa[5] terræ que non habitetur bene; et multociens erit domus aliqua quæ bene x vel xii supellectiles[6] habebit.[7] Hæc civitas etiam habet burgia[8] magna habentia majorem gentem quam ipsa civitas tenet. Hæc xii portas [habet] principales, et prope quamlibet illarum portarum ferme ad viii miliaria sunt civitates majores quam essent civitas Venetiarum et Padua, unde bene ibitur sex vel septem dietis per unum illorum burgorum, et tamen videbitur modicum permeasse. Hæc civitas posita est in aquis lacunarum quæ manet et stat, sicut civitas Venetiarum.[9] Ipsa etiam habet plures quam xii millia pontium,[10] in quolibet quorum morantur custodiæ custodientes ipsam civitatem pro magno Cane. A latere hujus civitatis labitur unum flumen juxta quod sita est civitas ista, sicut Ferraria ipsa manet,[11] unde longior est quam lata.[12] De ipsa autem diligenter scivi et quæsivi a Christianis Sarracenis ydolatris cunctisque aliis, qui omnes loquuntur uno ore quod bene centum miliaria circuit. Per dominum etiam unum mandatum habetur; nam quilibet ignis solvit unum balis[13] annuatim ipsi Cani magno id est quinque cartas ad instar bombicis,[14] quæ unum cum dimidio florenum valent. Hunc etiam habent modum; nam bene x vel xii supellectiles[15] faciunt unam ignem, et sic solum pro uno igne solvent; hii autem ignes sunt lxxxv[16] Thuman, cum aliis quatuor Sarracenorum qui constituunt lxxxviii.[17] Unum autem Thuman

[1] *Ven.* ponebant; *Mus.* balneaverunt.

[2] *Hak.* quite omits this second fishing story.

[3] *Ven.* Campsay; *Far.* Chansanæ; *Hak.* et *Mus.* Kanasia; *Bol.* Chamsana; *Marc.* Camsaye.

[4] *Boll.* omni aliâ quam conspexi.

[5] *Ven.* Particula; *Far.* non est terra; *Mus.* nec in ea vidi spatium sive placeam vacuam quin bene inhabitaretur.

[6] *Hak. has* imo vidi multos domos habentes x vel xii solaria unum supra aliud, *which is enough to condemn the authority of that version; Mus. has the same.*

[7] *Hak.* et *Mus.* suburbia.

[8] *Bol.* id est familias.

[9] *Hak.* Sita est in aquis quæ semper stant et nec fluunt nec refluunt; vallum tamen habent propter ventum sicut civitas Venetiarum; *Mus. to same effect.*

[10] *Hak.* decem millia et 2... quorum multos numeravi et transivi; *Mus.* xii millia.

[11] *Ven.* et *Far.* Sicut Ferraria juxta Padum; *so Boll. also.*

[12] *Mus.* Hæc sicut Ferraria ipsa manet nam longior est quam lata.

[13] *Mus.* balistorium.

[14] *Far.* unum balis 15 cartas bombicis; *but this should probably be* balis *i.* 5 cartas, etc. (*i. for* id est), *as Hak. has it actually.*

[15] *Mus. adds gratuitously* id est solaria sive domus.

[16] *Far.* lxxv; *Hak. as in text.*

[17] *Far.* lxxviiii; *Hak. as in text; Mus. has* viiicv et ixcix, but evidently means 85 and 89.

bene x milia ignium facit. Reliquorum vero alii sunt Christiani, alii mercatores, aliique transeuntes per contratam, unde multum fui miratus quod tot corpora humana poterant habitare simul. In ea est copia magna panis, carnium de porco,[1] et vini, ac risi; quod vinum vigim[2] aliter nominatur, quod etiam potacio nobilis reputatur: omnium etiam aliorum victualium illic copia maxima reperitur.

33. *De quodam mirabili quod vidit Fr. Odoricus in quodam monasterio ydololatrarum.*

Hæc est civitas regalis in quâ rex Manzi olim morabatur. Et in ea quatuor nostri fratres minores[3] unum potentem hominem converterunt, in domo cujus[4] hospitabar, unde mihi aliquando dicebat *Atha*,[5] id est, Pater, vis venire videre terram? Et sibi semel dixi me velle ire, unde ascendimus unam barcham et sic ivimus ad unum magnum illorum monasteriorum quæ ibi erant, ad quod cum ivissemus unum illorum religiosorum vocavit dicens: Vides hunc Raban[6] Franchi (scilicet istum virum religiosum Franch), iste venit inde ubi occidit sol, et nunc vadit Cambaleth,[7] ut roget[8] vitam pro magno Cane. Ideo sibi ostendas aliquid quod ipse videre possit, si hic est mirabile,[9] ut si reverteretur ad suas contratas, dicere possit tale quod novum vidi in Cansai. Tunc iste dixit se libenter velle ostendere sibi aliquid novum. Et tunc iste duos magnos mastellos[11] accepit plenos hiis quæ superfuerunt a mensâ.[12] Et ipse tunc statim[13] apperuit cujusdam viridarii portam per quam intravimus in viridarium illud, nunc autem in eo est quidam monticulus[14] plenus arboribus amœnis; et dum in eo sic essemus, ipse Cimbalum[15] unum accepit, et illud incepit pulsare,[16] ad cujus sonitum multa animalia varia et diversa de illo monticulo descenderunt, sicut nunc essent symiæ, catti, maymones, similiter et multa alia animalia[17] circa ipsum se aptaverunt ad se invicem ordinata. Et cum circa ipsum sic essent posita et ordinata, ipse paropsides[18] posuit ante illa et sicut competebat comedere sibi dabat:[19] hæc autem cum sic comedissent cymbalum pulsare cœpit, et ad sua loca revertebantur cuncta. Dum autem sic viderem

[1] *Hak.* et carnium de porco præcipue. *He omits the* bigini.

[2] *This should run as in Ven.* risi et vini, quod vinum bigini aliter nominatur; *Far. also has it in an unintelligible shape; Mus. has* carnium porcinorum vini et risi quod bignii aliter nominatur, de quo nobilis fit potatio inter eos.

[3] *Boll. has erroneously* prædicti.

[4] *Far.* Continue; *also Mus.*; *Hak.* in cujus hospitio continue habitabam dum fui ibi.

[5] *Ven.* Archa; *Far.* Arra; *Hak.* Ara; *Boll.* Ara.

[6] *Ven.* Franchum; *Boll. has* Rabi.

[7] *Ven.* Cambalech.

[8] *Hak.* deprecetur.

[9] *Ven. omits these four words, as do Ut. and the others.*

[10] *Mus.* Kanasià; *Hak.* Canasiâ.

[11] *Boll.* sportas.

[12] *Hak.* et duxit me ad unam perclusam parvam quam aperuit cum clave, et apparuit viridarium gratiosum, etc.

[13] *Mus.* cum clave.

[14] *Hak.* sicut unum campanile.

[15] *Ven.* Timpanum; *Far.* timbalum; *Boll.* Tintinnabulo.

[16] *Hak.* sicut percutitur quando monachi intrant refectorium.

[17] *Ven. has here* quæ faciem habebant humanam quæ erant circa tria millia quæ circa, etc.; *Far.* animalia habentia faciem hominis; *Mus. absurdly* has cciii millia, probably miscopied for circa iii millia; *Hak.* 4000.

[18] *Ven.* parassides.

[19] *Boll.* Secundum naturæ suæ.....distribuit illis cibum.

ista, multum cœpi ridere,[1] dicens: Qualia sunt ista animalia.[2] Qui respondit: Hæc animalia animæ sunt nobilium virorum quæ nos hic pascimus amore dei.[3] Ei autem sic respondenti, dicens,[4] Hæc animæ non sunt sed solum bestiæ et animalia ipsa sunt. Michi autem respondebat dicens, Verum non est quod hæc animalia sint, sed solum animæ nobilium sunt istæ, unde unus illorum sicut fuit nobilis homo, sic ejus anima in aliquid istorum animalium nobilium ipsa intrat; animæ vero rusticorum in animalia vilia intrant et habitant. Sic autem isto modo dicere poteram sibi multa quæ tamen aliud nunquam credere volebat.[5] Si quis autem dicere et enarrare hujus civitatis magnitudinem vellet, illiusque magna mirabilia quæ sunt in eâ, unus bonus quaternus stationis hæc talia tenere non posset. Verum ista est nobilior et major civitas pro mercimoniis quam habeat totus mundus.[6]

34. *De civitate Chilenfu, de maximo flumine Talay, et pygmæis.*

De istâ recedens civitate per sex dietas veni ad unam aliam civitatem magnam quæ vocatur Chilenfo;[7] hujus muri civitatis bene per xl miliaria circueunt ipsi. In ista etiam civitate sunt bene tres centi et xl[8] pontes lapidei pulchriores quam totus habeat mundus. In hac civitate fuit prima sedes Regis Manzi in qua ipse morari solebat. Hæc bene habitatur a gente et in ea est ita magnum navigium quod est mirabile valde. Ipsa bene sita est omniumque bonorum copiam habet magnam. Ab hac civitate recedens veni ad quoddam flumen magnum quod vocatur Talay,[9] et est majus flumen quod sit in mundo, nam ubi strictius est bene est latum septem miliaribus. Hoc flumen per mediam terram pigmeorum scilicet vidinnorum[10] transit, quorum civitas vocatur Chathan,[11] quæ de melioribus et pulchrioribus civitas est quæ sint in mundo; hii pigmei sunt magni tribus spannis, qui faciunt magna opera Goton, id est bombicis,[12] quam aliqui homines qui sunt in mundo. Homines autem

[1] *Boll.* illi seni.

[2] *Ven. has instead* Quid hoc indicare vellit; *Mus.* Tunc admiratus quæ essent animalia ista quasi ridendo multum inquisivi; *Boll.* dixi Edissere mihi quid iste significat?

[3] *Hak.* et *Mus.* Dei qui regit orbem. [4] *For* dixi.

[5] *Hak.* Incepi istam abusionem improbare, sed nihil valuit sibi. Non enim poterat credere quod aliqua anima posset sine corpore manere; *Boll. has* Et licet multa sibi dicerem et prædicarem numquam tamen ipsum ab hâc perfidia potui revocare.

[6] *Hak. omits this sentence about the city altogether; Mus.* Si quis ergo mirabilia et mercimonia quæ in eâ sunt dicere et enarrare vellet nemo occidentalis partis mundi credere sibi posset.

[7] *So also in Ven.*; *Ut. has* Chilemphe; *Far.* Chilopho *or* Chilepho; *Hak.* Chilenzo, *but the greater Museum MS. has* Chilemfo; *Mus.* Chilefu *or* Chilenfu; *Boll.* Chyleso, bene muratam; *Marc.* Chilenfo.

[8] *Ven.* trecenti et sexaginta; *Far.* iiiclx; *Boll. only* quadraginta.

[9] *Ven. also has* Talay; *Mus.* et *Hak.* Thalay; *Marc.* Talay; *Ut.* Dotalay; *Far.* Thanai; *with the following interpolation to justify the blunder*, de quo scripsit Isidorus 12° libro etymologiarum, a Thano primo rege Sitharum denominatus qui ex nivosis (?) fluviis descendens determinavit Europam ab Asia et est inter ii partes mundi medias currens, atque in Pontum fluens; *Boll. has* Thannay.

[10] *Ven. omits these two words; Ut. has* id est biduinorum; *Far.* per medium terram biduinorum; *Mus.* pigmeorum, i.e., vidimiorum; *Marc.* Bidoyni *and* Biduini.

[11] *Ven.* Cacham; *Ut.* Tachara; *Far.* Cathan; *Hak.* Kakam; *Mus.* Kaycon.

[12] *Hak.* Goton et Bombycinam. *Omits all that follws about pigmies.*

magni qui ibi sint filios generant qui plus quam pro dimidietate similes illis pigmeis sunt qui sunt ita parvi. Ideoque tot istorum parvorum ibi generantur et nascuntur quod sine numero quasi sunt.[1]

35. *De civitatibus Iamzai et Menzu.*

Dum per istud flumen del Talai sic irem transivi per multas civitates et veni ad unam que vocatur Jamzai,[2] in qua est unus locus nostrorum fratrum minorum. In hac etiam sunt tres ecclesiæ Nestorinorum, scilicet virorum religiosorum:[3] hæc civitas nobilis est et magna, habens bene xlviii[4] vel lviii tuman ignium, quorum unum quisque tuman bene est x milia. In hac civitate sunt omnia illa quibus vivunt Christiani et sunt in copiâ magnâ.[5] Unde Dominus istius civitatis solum de sale bene habet de redditu quinquaginta milia[6] Tuman balisi. Balisus autem valet unum florenum et dimidium, et ita unum tuman balisi bene constituit quindecim milia florenorum. Verumptamen unam gratiam huic populo fecit Dominus iste. Nam sibi dimittebat cc tuman ne[7] caritudinem[8] haberent. Hanc autem consuetudinem habet civitas ista; nam quando unus homo vult facere unum magnum pastum vel convivium suis amicis, ad hoc sunt hospicia deputata; nam illis hominibus qui hoc hospicium tenent dicet ille homo: Tu hospes facias mihi convivium istud pro quibusdam[9] amicis meis, et pro illo volo expendere tantum; sic autem convivium mihi fiet bene et ordinate, et michi melius servietur ibi quam in domo mea propria.[10] Hæc etiam civitas maximum navigium habet, per x miliaria ab ista civitate. In capite istius fluminis magni del Talai una alia civitas est quæ vocatur Menzu:[11] hæc civitas majus navigium et pulchrius habet quam alia civitas quæ forte sit in mundo. Omnes illæ naves albæ sunt ut nix, zesso[12] depictæ. In ipsis etiam sale[13] hospicia multa quæ alia ita pulchra habent et ordinata, sicut unquam in mundo possent, unde est quasi quoddam incredibile audire et videre hujus navigii magnitudinem.

36. *De Flumine Caramoran, et de quibusdam civitatibus.*

Ab ista civitate recedens et transiens per iiii dietas per multas terras et civitates per aquam dulcem, veni ad quamdam civitatem quæ vocatur

[1] *Ven. adds* hi pigmæi formosi sunt tam mares quam feminæ per magnitudinem suam, et feminæ nubunt in quinto anno; habent autem animam rationalem sicut nos; *Ut. has the same, with* famosi *instead of* formosi.

[2] *Ven.* Iamzay; *Ut.* Jamzai; *Far.* Iantu; *Hak.* Ianzu; *Mus.* Jancus; *Boll.* Ianzi; *Marc.* Jamzai.

[3] *Far.* omits this explanation, which appears to be officious and inaccurate.

[4] *Hak.* 48 Thuman *simply*; *Mus.* xlviii vel l thumam.

[5] *Hak.* omnia victualia et animalia in magna copia, etc.

[6] Both *Ven.* and *Far. have* manus, *which seems a mistake*; *Hak. has* 50 Thuman, *but* 200 *below*; *Marc.* mani di Thuman balis.

[7] *Ven.* Balissius; *Far. has* balis autem 1 valet, etc.

[8] *Ven.* carestiam. [9] *Ven. has* pro tot amicis meis.

[10] This is wrong. It should be as in *Ven.*; et melius servitur eis quam in domo propriâ factum esset. *Far. has to this effect also. Hak. has it stupidly* Et per illum modum melius convivant amici in pluribus hospitiis quam facerent in unâ. *Mus.* to effect of *Ven.*

[11] *Far.* Menchu; *Hak.* Montu; *Mus.* Mencu; *Boll.* Mensy; *Marc.* Menzu.

[12] *Ven.* gippso.

[13] *Both Ven.* et *Far. have this* sale, *which I do not understand. If* salæ *for Halls*, it should apparently *have been* salas. *Marc. has* in quelle vi sono le sale, alberghi e molte altre cose, etc.

[14] *Ven.* viii; *Far.* octo, and so the others.

Lenzin:[1] hæc civitas super posita est unum flumen quod vocatur Caramoram;[2] hoc flumen per medium Cathaii transit, cui magnum dampnum infert quando rumpit, sicut est Padus transiens per Ferrariam.[3] Dum sic irem per flumen istud versus orientem, multis dietis transiens per terras multas et civitates veni ad civitatem unam quæ vocatur Suzumato.[4] Hæc civitas habet majorem habundantiam serici quam forte aliqua terra de mundo, nam quando ibi major caritudo serici possit esse, bene tamen xl libræ habentur minori viii solidorum grossorum.[5] In ea etiam est magna copia omnium mercimoniorum, similiter etiam panis,[6] omniumque aliorum bonorum.

37. *De civitatibus magnis Cambalec atque Taydo, et de Palatio Canis.*

Tunc de ista civitate recedens, transiens per multas civitates et terras versus orientem, veni ad illam[7] nobilem civitatem Cambalec: hæc civitas multum est vetus et antiqua, quæ est [in] illa provincia Cathaii. Hanc ceperunt Tartari, juxta quam ad dimidium miliare unam aliam civitatem fecerunt nomine Caydo;[8] hæc xii portas habet, intra quamlibet quarum sunt duo miliaria magna, unde in[9] utramque civitatem bene habitatur[10] et circuitus istarum duarum civitatum plura ambit quam xl miliaria. In hâc civitate, Canis[11] ille magnus suam sedem habet, ubi etiam unum palatium suum magnum habet, cujus muri[12] bene per quatuor miliaria circueunt. Intra quod spatium multa alia pulchra palatia[14] sunt. In curtivo hujus palatii magni factus est mons unus, in quo edificatum est unum palatium aliud quod est pulcherrimum de mundo. Hic etiam mons arboribus est plantatus, propter quod Mons Viridis nominatur. A latere montis hujus factus est unus magnus lacus, per transversum cujus unus pons pulcherrimus factus est. In isto lacu tot sunt anseres silvestres, anathes, et Cesenæ[15] quod valde mirabile est, unde quando vult venari non oportet eum domum exire pro venatione, cum illa sit in domo. In hoc etiam palatio sunt viridaria plena diversis generibus bestiarum, quas quantumque vult ipse venari potest absque hoc quod extra domum vadat. Palatium autem ipsum in quo sedes sua est multum magnum et pulchrum est, cujus terra duobus passibus elevata est. Ipsum interius habet xxiiii[16] columpnas de auro. Omnes muri ejus cooperti sunt pellibus rubeis, de quibus dicitur quod

[1] *Far.* Lencim; *Hak.* et *Mus.* Lencyn; *Boll.* Lensium; *Marc.* Lenzin.
[2] *Ven.*, *Hak.* Caramoran; *Far.* Tharamoram; *Boll.* Tharamorim; *Marc.* Caramoram.
[3] *Ven.* Dum rumpitur sicut facit Padus Ferrariæ.
[4] *Far.* et *Boll.* Sucumat; *Hak.* Sumacoto; *Mus.* Sumakoto; *Marc.* Suzumato.
[5] *Ven.* viii grossorum *simply*. So *Far.* *Boll.* octo solidis grossorum minorum.
[6] *Far.* vini; *Hak.* panis vini carnium piscium et omnium specierum electarum. *Nearly so also in Mus.*
[7] *Mus.* nominatam et nobilem.
[8] *Ven.* Taydo; *Far.* et *Hak.* Caido; *Mus.* Taydo; *Boll.* Thayde; *Marc.* Taydo.
[9] *Ven.* et inter, *instead of* unde in, *and Mus.*
[10] *Hak.* ita quod faciunt quasi unam civitatem.
[11] *Boll. incorrectly* et numquam civitas bene per homines habitatur.
[12] *Ven.* Chaam.
[13] *Boll.* cujus muri per quadrum se extendunt.
[14] *Hak.* et *Mus.* dominorum de familiâ suâ.
[15] *Ven.* Cesani; *Far.* Cesenæ; *Hak.* *has only* anserum silvestrium; *Mus.* anserum, anatum et omnium aliarum avium aquaticarum; *Marc.* *has* Cesani.
[16] *Hak.* 14.

nobiliores pelles sunt quæ sint in mundo. In medio autem palatio est una magna pingua[1] alta passibus pluribus quam duobus, quæ tota est de uno lapide precioso, nomine merdatas.[2] Ipsa etiam tota est auro ligata et in quolibet angulo ipsius est unus serpens qui verberat os fortissime, hæc etiam pinona retia habet de perlis magnis quæ pendent ab eâ, que retia forte sunt lata una spansa. Per pignam hanc defertur potus per conductus qui in curiâ regis habetur.[3] Juxta hanc etiam pignam manent multa vasa aurea, cum quibus omnes volentes bibere bibunt. In ipso autem palatio sunt multi pavones de auro. Cum aliquis Tartarus aliquod festum vult facere domino suo, tunc sic sunt percutientes ad invicem manus suas; tunc hii pavones suas alas emittunt et ipsi tripudiare videntur. Hoc autem fit vel arte dyabolica vel ingenio quodam sub terra fit.[4]

38. *De curiâ Domini Canis.*

Quum ipse dominus super suam sedem sedet imperialem a sinistro latere manet regina, et uno gradu inferius duæ aliæ morantur mulieres quas ipse tenet;[5] in infimo autem cunctæ dominæ parentelæ. Omnes illæ quæ nuptæ sunt unum pedem hominis super caput habent, longum bene brachium cum dimidio; subter illo pede sunt pennæ gruis in summitate, et totus ille pes est ornatus perlis magnis, unde si perlæ magnæ in mundo sunt et pulchræ hæc ita sunt in ornamentum istarum dominarum.[6] A latere autem dextro ipsius regis moratur ejus filius primogenitus, qui post ipsum regnare debet; inferius autem ab istis morantur omnes illi qui sunt de sanguine regio. Illic etiam quatuor sunt scriptores scribentes omnia verba quæ dicit ipse rex. Ante cujus conspectum stant barones sui multique alii innumerabiles, nullus quorum loqui auderet ullo modo nisi a magno domino peteretur, istis etiam hystrionibus exceptis, qui suum dominum vellent lætificare. Hii tamen hystriones nil aliud facere audent nisi secundum quod rex ipse legem imposuit eis. Ante portas ipsius palatii stant barones custodientes et videntes ne aliquid limen[8] hostii tangat, quod si aliquis faciens reperiretur ipsi eum acriter verberarent.[9] Cum autem dominus iste magnus aliquid convivium facere fieri vult, secum habet xiiii milia barones[10] cum coronis in capite sibi in convivio servientes, et quilibet vestem talem[11] habet in dorso, quod solum perlæ quæ ibi sunt super qualibet veste valent plus quam xv milia florenorum. Curia ipsius optime ordinata est videlicet per denarium[12] centenarium et millenarium, unde omnes inter se taliter sunt ordinati et sibi invicem respondentes, quod de officiis suis, nec de aliquo alio nunquam defectus aliquis invenitur. Ego frater Odoricus ibi fui bene tribus annis in hac sua civitate et multotiens in istis suis festis presens fui, nam nos fratres minores in hâc curiâ suâ habemus

[1] *Ven.* pigna.
[2] *Ven.* Merdacas; *Far.* Merdatas; *Hak.* Merdochas; *Mare.* Merdacas.
[3] *Ven., Far.* habentur.
[4] *Hak.* arte magicâ vel aliquâ cautelâ subterraneâ; *Mus.* nearly so.
[5] *Hak.* et *Mus.* pro se quando non potest ad reginam accedere.
[6] *Hak.* omits this sentence.
[7] *Ven. better* tamen; *Hak.* et *Mus.* exceptis fatuis et histrionibus.
[8] *Far.* limitem. [9] *Hak. omits* quod.....verberarent.
[10] *Hak.* portantes circulos et coronulas.
[11] *Mus.* talari veste. [12] *Ven.* decenarium.
[13] *Far. has only* videlicet per C. This MS. (or the transcript furnished) would be unintelligible in many places without collation.

locum deputatum, et nos semper sic oportet ire[1] et dare sibi benedictionem nostram, unde diligenter petii et inquisivi a Christianis, Sarracenis cunctisque ydolatris a nostris etiam conversis ad fidem,[2] qui in illa curia magni sunt barones aspicientes solum ad personam regis, et hii omnes uno ore loquuntur dicentes quod solum hystriones sui sunt bene tredecim tuman,[3] unum quorum bene x milia constituit hystrionum; alii autem custodientes canes, bestias silvestres, et aves bene sunt [....] tuman.[4] Medici vero qui custodiunt personam regis sunt ydolatræ numero quadringenti,[5] Christiani autem viii, et unus Sarracenus: hii omnes totum illud habent quod est sibi necessarium a curiâ regis. Ejus autem reliqua sua familia ibi sine numero possidetur.

39. *De itinere Domini Canis.*

Dominus vero ille in estate moratur in quadam terra quæ vocatur Zandu,[6] posita sub tramontana et frigidior habitabilis que hodie sit in mundo, in hyeme vero in Cambalec ipse manet.[7] Et cum vult ab unâ terrâ ad aliam equitare, hunc modum ipse tenet. Nam quatuor exercitus equitum ipse habet, quorum unus dietâ unâ ipsum antecedit, secundus aliâ dietâ, tertius similiter, et quartus; ita quod semper in medio vadit in modum crucis.[8] Cum autem sic vadunt omnes habent suas dietas ordinatas, unde omnia illa ibi inveniunt quæ sibi sunt necessaria ad comedendum. Gens vero quæ vadit cum eo ambulat isto modo; nam rex ille super uno curru a duabus rotis vadit, in quo facta est una pulcherrima sala,[9] tota de lignis aloe et auro ornata, insuper perlis[10] magnis et pulchris et multis lapidibus preciosis; quatuorque elephantes bene ordinati et parati ducunt istum currum, quem etiam et quatuor equi pulcherrimi[11] bene cooperti insuper sunt ducentes. Et juxta quem et quatuor barones qui vocantur Zuche vadunt custodientes et tenentes currum ne aliquis offenderet currum ne aliquid offenderet istum regem. Insuper et secum super currum portat xii[12] zirifalcos, quos dum sic sedet in curru super cathedra sua vel sede et videt aliquas volantes aves post eas ab ire permittit. Et ad unius lapidis jactum nullus currui audet appropinquare nisi illi qui ad hoc sunt specialiter deputati. Unde sicut iste rex magnus vadit, sic et in gradu suo suæ vadunt mulieres isto modo; quod et suus primogenitus tenet et observat, unde quasi incredibile esset illam gentem ymaginari quam dominus iste habet. Exercitus autem illi qui ipsum dominum attendunt[14] quingenti[15] thuman habentes illa a domino quæ sibi sunt necessaria integraliter et complete. Et si aliquem istorum mori contingerit qui de numero computatur alius statim ponitur loco sui unde numerus semper manet.

[1] *Boll.* primos procedere.
[2] *Boll. has* idololatris non modo ab illis qui *per me* ad fidem Christi conversi sunt, etc., *which look as if it had been tampered with.*
[3] *Far.* 12 tuman; *Hak.* 18 thuman; *Mus.* xiii; *Marc.* xiv.
[4] *Ven., Far.* xv tuman; *Marc.* xv.
[5] *Mus.* cccti.
[6] *Ven.* Sauday; *Ut.* Sanay; *Far.* Sandu; *Mus.* Sandu; *Marc.* Sandu.
[7] *From* Dominus vero *is omitted by Hak.*
[8] *Far.* in modum gradus (in *échellon*).
[9] *Hak.* Sella.
[10] *Ut.* pellibus.
[11] *Hak. has* altissimi (albissimi ?).
[12] *Far.* Cuthe.
[13] *Hak.* duo et albissimi. *The latter also in Mus.*
[14] *Ven.* antecedunt.
[15] *Ut.* l; *Far.* vc; *Hak.* xv Thuman.

40. *De imperio Magni Canis et de hospitiis in eo, et de modo expediendi nova ad Dominum.*

Hoc imperium ipse in xii partes condivisit (?)[1] quælibet quarum Syno[2] xii nominatæ. Una autem istarum partium est illud Manzi, quod sub se habet duo millia magnarum civitatum. Unde tam magnum est illud suum imperium quod [si] unus pedes per quamcumque partem ipsius vellet ire in sex[3] mensibus haberet satis, sine tamen insulis quæ sunt bene v milia quæ etiam in numerum non ponuntur.[4] Et ut transeuntes suis possint necessitatibus subvenire per totum regnum suum facit hospicia preparari sicut domos et curtiva quæ domus *Yam*[5] vocantur. In istis autem domibus sic paratis sunt omnia illa quæ sunt necessaria humanæ vitæ. Cum autem novitas aliqua in suo habetur imperio statim ambaxiatores sui ad ipsum super equos velociter currunt. Si autem negotium arduum nimis esset et periculosum, super dromedarios ipsi ascendunt. Et cum ad ista Yam, scilicet hospicia sive domos, incipiunt appropinquare, pulsant unum cornu, ad cujus sonitum hospes illius hospitii unum hominem facit velociter preparari, cui ille qui ita velociter venit ad domum illam illam litteram representat quam portavit; et sic iste qui nuper venit ut reficiatur in illa domo manet. Tunc ille qui litteram jam recepit usque ad aliam Yam, scilicet usque ad aliam domum, properat festinanter. Et iste secundus eodem modo facit quo fecit ille primus. Sic per istum modum in una naturali die unum novum xxx dietarum ille recipit imperator.[6] Illic etiam alius modus mittendi pedites observatur. Nam aliqui ordinati cursores in domibus quæ Chidebo[7] nominantur assidue commorantur, habentes cingulum unum circum circa nolarum seu sonaglorum.[8] Harum domorum una distat ab alia miliaribus forte tribus. Cum autem ad illam domum appropinquat istas duas[9] nolas seu sonaglos incipit pulsare fortiter ac valenter; tunc autem ille alius qui est in domo se velociter parat et ad domum vadit quam citius ipse potest. Sic et isto modo, hoc idem et alii cursores tenent et observant donec deventum est ad ipsum Magnum Canem unde in imperio suo [nihil] breviter fieri potest, quin statim vel cito multa penitus ipse sciat.[10]

41. *De Venatione Magni Canis.*

Cum ille Canis Magnus ad venandum vadit hunc modum in se habet. Nam extra Cambalec ad xx dietas est unum pulcherrimum nemus,[11] viii[12] dietarum per circuitum, in quo tot animalium genera sunt diversa quod valde mirabile est. Circa ipsum nemus positi sunt aliqui pro Magno Cane, qui ipsum custodiunt diligenter. In fine autem trium vel quatuor annorum ad nemus cum gente sua vadit. Cum autem pervenit illic ipse circumdat totum sua gente et in ipsum permittunt

[1] *Ven.* Dominus divisit.
[2] *Ven.* Singo; not in the other copies collated, except *Ut.*, *which has* Signo.
[3] *Mus.* v.
[4] All this is much abridged in *Hak.*
[5] *Ven.* Iam.
[6] *Ven. has* nova dietarum trium *only*; *Far. has* xxx; and *Hak.*, *Mus.* xx; *Marc.* xxx.
[7] *Ut.* Chidebeo.
[8] *Ven.* nolis, i.e., sonalis plenum; *Mus.* cum multis pendentibus sonaliis sive nolis.
[9] *Should be* suas.
[10] *Hak.* greatly abridges all this again.
[11] *Hak.* una foresta.
[12] *Far.* vi, also *Hak.* and *Mus.*

canes intrare et aves assuetas post illos emittunt. Et ipsi ad invicem pressi vadunt reducendo illa silvestria ad unam pulcherrimam quæ in medio nemoris habetur planiciem, et sic in ea congregatur bestiarum silvestrium maxima multitudo, sicut sunt[1] leones, cervi, multaque alia tam varia quam diversa, quod ibi videtur maximus esse stupor. Unde tantus est rumor atque clamor avium et canum quos in illud nemus emiserunt quod unus non intelligit alterum ; et cuncta illa silvestria tremunt clamore illo magno. Dum autem hæc silvestria sic sunt in illa planicie congregata, tunc Magnus Canis ascendit[2] super tres elephantes, et in illa silvestria quinque sagittas jacit, quas cum ejecerit tota societas sua hoc idem similiter facit. Et cum omnes suas jecerunt sagittas, quarum quælibet suum signum habet per quod una ab alia cognoscatur, tunc ille imperator magnus vocari facit *Syo*, id est immani (?) bestiis illis[3] quas de nemore pepulerunt.[4] Et statim bestiæ illæ silvestres quæ ibi vivæ sunt demissæ intrant nemus. Ad alias autem interfectas cuncti barones accedunt accipientes sagittas, quas post illas emiserunt, nam eas bene cognoscunt cum illi inposuerunt sibi signum, unde unusquisque aliud silvestre habet quod sua percussit sagitta. Sic isto modo fit venacio sua.[5]

42. *De quatuor festis quæ tenet Canis Magnus.*

Quatuor magna festa in anno iste facit imperator ; scilicet, festum Circumcisionis, ejusque Nativitatis diem,[6] et sic de reliquis. Ad hæc festa convocat omnes barones hystriones omnesque de suâ parentelâ qui omnes ordinate ponuntur in festo. Maxime autem convocat omnes istos ad duo festa de istis, scilicet, ad festum Circumcisionis et ad festum diei Nativitatis suæ. Cum ad aliquod festum istorum sunt isti convocati, tunc accedunt barones cum coronis in capite ipso, imperatore in sua sede residente, sicut superius dictum est ; et omnes barones in locis suis deputatis ordinate morantur. Diversimode autem isti sunt barones vestiti. Nam aliqui sunt vestiti de viridi,[7] scilicet primi ; secundi de sanguineo sunt induti ; tercii vero de glauco sen zamno[8] sunt vestiti. Omnes isti sunt in capite coronati, habentes in manu unam tabulam de dentibus elephantum albam, et singulos circulos aureos, bene uno semisse altos,[9] stantesque in pedibus et silencium observantes. Circa istos morantur hystriones cum suis insignis et banderiis. In uno autem angulo cujusdam palacii magni manent philosophi omnes aspicientes et accedentes ad certas horas et puncta. Et cum occurrerit punctum vel hora quam ipsi philosophi petunt, unus clamat valenter et dicit, Debeatis inclinare nostro imperatori domino magno. Tunc omnes barones ter de capite dant in terra. Deinde ille idem exclamabit dicens, Vos surgite cuncti. Et statim ipsi surgunt. Ad alia etiam puncta iterum ipsi attendunt. Cum venit punctum, iterum ille clamabit dicens, Ponite vobis in auriculam digitum. Et faciunt. Et tunc statim dicet, Extrahite. Et obediunt iterum. Sicque modicum stabunt et dicent, Buratate farinam :[10]

[1] *Far.* boves silvestres ; *Ven.* ursi.
[2] *Ven. has better* accedit.
[3] *Ven. Scio*, id est misericordiam bestiis illis, &c. So in *Far. Marc.* Syon.
[4] *Far.* repulerunt.
[5] All much more concise in *Hak.* and *Mus.*
[6] *Hak.* et *Mus.* coronationis et desponsationis.
[7] *Ven.* de serico ; *Ut.* de serico viridi.
[8] *Ven.* zauno ; *Far. has* tertii de croco ; *Hak.* et *Mus.* de croceo.
[9] *Ven.* latos.
[10] *Far.* omits this.

sic et multa alia signa faciunt isti quæ magnam significationem dicunt importare.[1] Deinde sunt officiales multi inquirentes et videntes cunctos barones et hystriones, ne aliquis illorum deficiat. Nam si aliquis ibi deficeret, magnam incurreret pœnam cum autem occurrit punctum et hora istorum hystrionum. Tunc philosophi dicunt facite festum domino. Tunc statim omnes incipiunt pulsare omnia instrumenta sua, et tantus est ille cantus et clamor quod est quasi stupor unus. Deinde vox una clamat dicens, Taceant omnes et sileant! Sic statim omnes tacebunt.[2] Post hæc statim illi de parentela sunt parati cum equis albis. Exinde vox una clamabit dicens, talis de tali parentela, tot centenaria paret equorum domino suo! Ibique statim aliqui sunt parati, ducentes illos equos per ante domum suum,[3] ita quod quoddam incredibile est de tot equis albis qui illi domino exenniantur. Deinde sunt barones exennia[4] portantes ex parte aliorum baronum, omnes etiam de monastęriis principales ad ipsum accedunt cum exenniis et suam benedictionem sibi tenentur dare; hoc idem facere nos omnes.[5] Hoc facto et ordinato, tunc aliqui hystriones ad ipsum accedunt, et etiam aliquæ hystrionatrices ante ipsum tam dulciter cantant quod quædam magna jocunditas est audire. Deinde hystriones faciunt venire leones qui reverentiam faciunt ipsi imperatori. Deinde hystriones vehi faciunt ciphos aureos per aerem plenos bono vino et ad ora omnium volentium bibere de isto vino porrigunt istos cyphos. Sic hæc et multa alia coram isto domino fiunt. Dicere autem et referre magnitudinem istius domini et illa quæ in curia sua fiunt esset incredibile quoddam nisi ista oculis viderentur. De hoc tamen quod multas expensas facit nemo mirari debet, cum nichil aliud pro moneta expendatur in toto suo regno quam quædam cartæ[6] quæ pro monetâ reputantur ibi, et infinitus thesaurus ad suas recurrit manus.[7]

43. *De pepone in quo invenitur bestiola ad modum agni.*

Aliud insuper mirabile valde dici potest, quod tamen non vidi sed illud a personis fide dignis audivi. Nam dicitur quod Caoli[8] est unum regnum magnum in quo sunt montes qui montes Caspei vocantur.[9] Unde in eis ut dicitur nascuntur pepones[10] valde magni qui quando sunt maturi ipsi aperiuntur et invenitur una bestiola ad modum unius agni parvi unde ipsi illos pepones habent et illas carniculas quæ sunt ibi.[11] Et quamquam

[1] *Hak.* et *Mus.* quæ scribere nolui quia vana sunt et risu digna.

[2] *Ven. omits this last sentence; and Hak. alone adds:* Tunc accedunt histrionices ante dominum dulciter modulantes quod mihi plus placuit.

[3] So in *Ven. with* dicentes *for* ducentes; *Ut.* has dicentes illos equos parasse domino suo.

[4] Exennia=Xenia.

[5] *Ven., Mus.* nos fratres minores facere oportet. *The* omnes *in the text is probably miscopied for* oportet.

[6] *Far.* cartæ confectæ corticibus morariorum, quæ, etc.

[7] *Far.* unde sicut dixi v° (for v) cartæ quæ constituunt unum balis, ballis unum florenum cum dimidio.

[8] *Far. adds*: Cum autem moritur iste Canis omnes Tartari adorant ipsum pro deo.

[9] *Ven.* Cadeli; *Ut.* Cadellis; *Far.* et *Marc.* Caoli; *Mus.* Kaloy.

[10] *Ven.* melones.

[11] *Hak.* in uno regno istius Canis in quo sunt montes Kapsei et dicitur illud regnum Kalor.

[12] *Far. has* et illac carunculæ pro nobilissimo ferculo reputantur.

illud forte aliquibus incredibile videatur tamen ita potest esse verum, sicut dicitur quod in hibernià sunt arbores aves facientes.[1]

44. *De regionibus diversis.*

De isto Cataio recedens[2] et veniens versus occidentem, L.[3] dietis transeundo per multas civitates et terras, veni versus terram Pretozoan,[4] de quo non est centesima pars ejus quod quasi pro certo de ipso dicitur. Ejus civitas principalis Chosan[5] vocatur [. . . .] sua civitas principalis[6] multas tamen alias civitates sub se habet. Sed semper pro pacto accipit in uxorem filiam magni Canis. Deinde veni per multas dietas et deveni in unam provinciam quæ vocatur Casan.[7] Ista est secunda melior provincia et melius habitata quam aliqua quæ sit in mundo;[8] ubi autem est minus stricta,[9] bene tamen est lata ½ dietis, et longa pluribus lx, unde ista provincia taliter habitatur quod quando ab una porta alicujus civitatis exitur portæ alterius civitatis videntur.[10] In hac est magna copia victualium, maxime autem castaneorum. In hâc autem contratâ vel provinciâ nascitur malus barbarus,[12] cujus tanta copia habetur illic quod unus asinus minori sex grossis ponderaretur. Hæc autem provincia est una de xii partibus imperii magni Canis.

45. *De regno Tybot, ubi est Papa ydolatrorum.*

De hâc provinciâ recedens veni ad unum magnum regnum nomine Tybot[13] quod ipsi Indiæ est confine. Totum hoc regnum est subjectum magno Cani,[14] et in ipso est major copia panis et vini quam sit in mundo. Gens istius contratæ moratur in tentoriis quæ ex[15] feltris sunt facta nigris. Tota civitas sua regalis et principalis est facta ex muris[16] albis et nigris, omnesque suæ viæ sunt optime scelatæ.[17] In hâc civitate non audet aliquis effundere sanguinem alicujus hominis vel animalis;

[1] *Far. adds* Nam in Imbernià sunt arbores super aquam quarum folia statim ut cadunt in ipsam aquam mutantur in aves. *Hak.* Sicut audivi quod in mari Hibernico stant arbores supra ripam maris et portant fructum sicut essent cucurbitæ, quæ certo tempore cadunt in aquam et fiunt aves vocatæ Bernakles et illud est verum. *To which adds Mus.:* Hoc cuilibet Hibernicam legenti historiam satis patet.

[2] *Hak.* post tres annos.

[3] *Mus.* dietis pluribus.

[4] *Ven., Far.* Pretezoan; *Mus.* et *Hak.* Pretegoani; *Marc.* Pretegianni.

[5] *Boll.* Tozan, quæ sola de melioribus est in terrâ; *Far.* Cosan; *Hak.* et *Mus.* Kosan; *Marc.* Chosan.

[6] *Read as in Ven.* quâ tamen Vicencia melior diceretur licet ipsa sit sua civitas principalis.

[7] *Ven.* Chasan; *Ut.* Cassan; *Far.* Consan; *Mus.* Chosan; *Hak.* Kasan; *Boll.* Kansan; *Marc.* Casan.

[8] *Mus.* et spissius ut dicitur civitatibus ornata.

[9] So most MSS. But *Marc. which has* dov' ella è più stretta *seems best.* So also *Ram. It should be* magis stricta.

[10] *Hak.* Sicut egomet vidi de multis.

[11] *Ven.* reubarbarum; *Far.* as in text; also *Mus. Marc.* reobarbaro.

[12] *Ven.* Tibot; *Mus.* Tybek; *Hak.* Tibek; *Boll.* Tibet; *Marc.* Tibot.

[13] *Boll.* contiguum est.

[14] *Ven.* Cahaam.

[15] *Mus.* et *Boll.* magnis, *the latter has not* nigris.

[16] *Mus.* ex lapidibus albis et nigris ut scaccarium dispositis et curiose compositis pulcherrime est murata. *Hak.* to like effect.

[17] *Ven.* Sillexatæ; *Far.* Salizate; *Mus.* et *Hak.* pavati; *Marc. has* mattonate *in Italian.*

Et hoc ob reverentiam unius ydoli quod ibi colitur et adoratur. In istâ civitate moratur Lo Abassi,[1] id est Papa in linguâ suâ. Iste est caput omnium ydolatrorum,[2] quibus dat et distribuit secundum morem suum omnia illa beneficia quæ ipsi habent. Hoc regnum hanc consuetudinem habet. Nam mulieres portant plus quam centum tricas seu dresas, habentes duos dentes ita longos[3] sicut habent apri sive porci silvestres. Hæc etiam alia consuetudo habetur in hâc contratâ. Nam ponatur quod pater alicujus moriatur, et tunc filius ipse sic dicet, Volo honorare patrem meum. Unde faciet convocari omnes sacerdotes, religiosos, omnesque hystriones de contratâ vicinos, similiter et parentes, qui ad campaneam[4] ipsum portant cum gaudio magno, ubi habent paratum unum discum magnum super quo ipsi sacerdotes sibi caput amputabunt, quod postea filio suo ipsi dabunt. Deinde ejus filius cum sua tota societate cantat et pro eo multas orationes facit. Exinde sacerdotes totum corpus ejus incidunt in frusta quod cum sic fecerunt tunc sursum se reducunt cum societate pro eo orationes facientes. Post hæc veniunt aquilæ et vultures de montibus et sic unusquisque suum frustum accipit et asportat. Deinde omnes altâ voce clamant dicentes: Audias[5] qualis homo iste fuit quia ipse sanctus est; nam veniunt angeli Dei et ipsum portant ad paradisum! Sic isto modo faciendo filius ejus multum reputat se honoratum. Cum pater ejus ab angelis Dei, silicet, ab avibus illis ita honorifice sit portatus, tunc statim filius caput patris accipit, quod coquit et comedit. De testâ autem[6] seu osse capitis sibi fieri facit unum ciphum cum quo ipse et omnes de domo sua semper cum devotione bibunt, et in memoriam patris sui defuncti.[7] Nam sic faciendo, ut dicunt, reverentiam magnam exhibent patri suo; unde multa alia inconsueta et dissoluta fiunt ab istis.[8]

46. *De Divite qui pascitur a* L *Virginibus.*

Dum autem essem in prozincia Manzi veni per juxta pedem palacii cujusdam hominis popularis cujus vita per hunc habetur modum. Ipse enim habet L[9] domicellas virgines sibi continue servientes. Et cum vadit ad comedendum et in mensa jam sedet omnia fercula quaterna et quinterna[10] sibi portantur ab ipsis cum diversis cantibus et multis generibus musicorum, et sibi cibum in os ponunt sicut si esset unus passerinus[11] et insuper ante ejus conspectum continue cantatur, donec omnia fercula sunt comesta. Deinde alia quinque fercula ab aliis portantur et recedentibus istis primis cum aliis multis cantibus et diversis generibus musicorum. Sic isto modo ducit vitam suam dum est in mundo,[12] hic xxx *tuman tagaris* risi de redditu habet, quorum quodlibet tuman x milia facit; unum autem *tagar* pondus est unius asini magni.

[1] *Ven. the same*; *Ut.* lo albafi; *Far., Mus.* et *Hak.* abassi; *Boll.* abbassi; *Marc.* lo abiss.

[2] *Mus.* et *Hak.* sicut noster papa est caput omnium Christianorum.

[3] *Ven., Far.* et *Mus.* in ore; *Far.* sicut habent porci.

[4] *Mus.* et *Hak.* campum.

[5] Videatis.

[6] *Mus.* id est de crepâ (?)

[7] *Hak. with a touch of humour has* comesti.

[8] *Hak.* Et multa vilia et abhominabilia facit gens illa quæ non scribo, quia non valent, nec homines crederent nisi viderent.

[9] *Far.* 40.

[10] *Far.* quinterna et quinterna.

[11] *Ven.* avicula quædam; *Hak.* pascentes cum sicut avis aviculas, et habet semper 5 fercula triplicata, etc.

[12] *Ven.* donec vixerit vitam suam; *Mus.* et sic hoc modo ducit in hoc seculo vitam suam.

Curtivum palatii sui per duo miliaria tenet; palatium autem illud in quo ipse moratur est factum per istum modum; nam pavimentum[1] ipsius unum laterem habet de auro alterum de argento. In curtivo istius palatii factus est unus monticulus de auro et argento, super quo facta sunt etiam monasteria et campanilia, ut homines fieri faciunt pro delectacionibus suis. Unde dicitur quod quatuor tales homines qualis iste est sunt in regno ipsius[2] Manzi. Nobilitas vero ipsius est habere ungues longas, et in tantum aliqui crescere permittunt ungues pollicis, quod cum ipsis circumdant sibi manus. Pulchritudo autem mulierum est parvos habere pedes. Unde hanc consuetudinem habent matres illarum mulierum, nam quando eis nascuntur aliquæ puellæ sibi ligant pedes quos nunquam crescere vel modicum dimittunt illis.

47. *De morte Senis de Monte.*

Dum autem recederem de terris Pretezoan,[3] veniens versus occidentem applicui ad quamdam contratam quæ Millestorte[4] nominatur. Hæc contrata pulchra est et multum fertilis.[5] In hac contrata unus erat qui vocabatur Senex a Monte, qui inter duos montes contratæ hujus unum fecerat murum, qui istum circumdabat montem. Infra istum murum pulchriores erant fontes qui unquam possent reperiri. Apud istos fontes positæ erant pulchriores domicellæ virgines quæ unquam possent reperiri, equi pulcherrimi, omneque illud quod pro aliâ delectatione alicui humano corpori poterat inveniri; unde hunc locum vocabant paradisum. Cum autem juvenem valoris aliquem ipse videbat in istâ suâ paradiso ipsum poni faciebat[6] per quosdam autem conductus vinum et lac illuc descendere faciebat.[7] Et cum volebat facere sicari, id est assaxinari, aliquem regem vel baronem, illum qui preerat illi paradiso petere faciebat, ut aliquem invęniret qui magis esset aptus delectari in ista sua paradiso, et morari. Iste autem talis dum sic esset inventus et ibi positus esset, ei potacionem unam dari faciebat quæ ipsum statim sopiebat. Tunc ipsum taliter dormientem de paradiso extrahi faciebat. Qui cum excitabatur et extra paradisum se videbat in tantâ erat positus agonia quod quid ageret penitus nesciebat. Quare illum Senem a monte rogabat constanter ut eum in illam reduceret paradisum in qua prius positus erat. Tunc senex ille dicebat, Tu illic ire non potes ni talem regem interficias vel baronem. Unde seu moriaris sive non, te in ista ponam paradiso. Et quia iste sic delectabatur morari paradiso, per eum sicari

[1] *Mus.* aulæ in qua ipse infra illud palatium moratur.
[2] *Ven.* ipso.
[3] *Ven.* Preteian.
[4] *Ven.* Ministorte; *Ut.* Millistorte; *Mus.* Melescorte; *Hak.* Milestorite; *Marc.* Milestorte.
[5] *Mus.* atque fortis.
[6] *This should come before* cum autem juvenem, *as in Ven.*
[7] *Far. here has a considerable diversity from the rest*:—Per hunc modum; nam nullus erat in curiâ suâ præter paucos secretarios suos qui veritatem delusionis sciret de hoc suo paradiso. Unde accipi faciebat juvenes fortes corpore et ipsos poni faciebat in stallis ubi morantur eques (equi) et ibidem vivere miserrime faciebat. Et faciebat eos de spreto habitu indui et nunquam de illis stallis exibant. Itaque quasi nesciebant quod essent mundi blanditiæ, et quasi desperabantur. Cum autem sic erant afflicti faciebat eis unam potationem dari quæ eos fortissime soporabat (*sic*), et tunc ponebat illos in hoc paradiso inter illas puellas; per quosdam autem conductas, etc. *Hak. has* Iste senex cum voluerit sibi vindicare vel interfecere regem aliquem vel Baronem, dicit illi qui præerat illi Paradiso ut aliquam de notis illius regis vel Baronis introduceret in Paradisum illum, et illum deliciis frui permitteret, et tunc daret sibi potionem, etc. *Mus. has the same a little more diffusely.*

id est assaxinare faciebat omnes illos quos volebat. Ideoque omnes reges orientis timebant istum senem sibique tributum magnum exhibebant. Cum autem Tartari quasi totum cepissent mundum,[1] venerunt ad istum senem ; cui finaliter dominium acceperunt. Quod cum ei sic fuisset acceptum multos de istis hiis sicariis emissit de paradiso per quos sicari et interfici faciebat multos Tartarorum. Hoc videntes ipsi Tartari ad illam civitatem, in quâ senex iste erat venerunt et eam obsederunt ; cum ab eâ non discesserint donec illam et ipsum senem finaliter habuerunt. Et cum eum ceperunt vinculis eum vinxerunt et malam mortem illum sustinere fecerunt.

48. *De demonibus a fratribus Minoribus expulsis.*

In hâc autem contratâ Omnipotens Deus fratribus minoribus hanc dedit gratiam magnam.[2] Nam in magnâ Tartariâ ita pro nichilo habent expellere demones ab obsessis, sicut de domo expellerent unum canem. Unde multi homines et mulieres a demone sunt obsessi, quos ligatos bene de x dietis ipsi ad fratres nostros conducunt. Isti autem demoniaci cum adducti sunt ad fratres, ipsi ex parte et nomine Jhesu Christi precipiunt demonibus illis ut exire debeant de illis corporibus obsessorum quam citius ipsi possunt. Tunc statim mandato facto exeunt ab illis. Deinde qui sunt à demone liberati se statim faciunt baptizari.[3] Tunc fratres illa sua ydola de feltro accipientes quæ ipsi habent cum cruce et aquâ benedictâ illa portant ad ignem. Deinde omnes de contrata veniunt videre comburi deos suorum vicinorum. Tunc fratres ista ydola accipientes illa ponunt in ignem et tunc illa de igne exeunt ;[4] propter quod fratres postea de aqua accipiunt benedicta quam in ignem projiciunt et statim demon fugit ab igne,[5] et sic fratres in ignem ydolum projiciunt ibique conburitur, et tunc demon clamat in aere, dicens ;[6] Videas! videas! quod de meâ habitatione sum expulsus! Et sic statim per istum modum nostri fratres multos in illâ contratâ baptizant.[7]

49. *De valle quâdam in quâ terribilia vidit Fr. Odoricus.*

Aliud terribile magnum ego vidi. Nam cum irem per unam vallem quæ [est] posita super flumen deliciarum, in ea multa et innumerabilia corpora mortuorum ego vidi, in quâ etiam audivi diversa genera musicorum, maxime autem Achara,[8] quæ ibi mirabiliter pulsabantur. Unde tantus erat ibi clamor, quod timor michi maximus incumbebat. Hæc autem vallis forte longa est vii vel viii miliaribus terræ, in quâ, si aliquis infidelium intrat nunquam de illa exit, sed statim moritur sine

[1] *Ven.* Oriens.

[2] *Boll.* contra immundos spiritus magnam contulit potestatem.

[3] *Hak.* et idola sua et pecorum suorum statim dant fratribus, quæ sunt communiter de feltro et de crinibus mulierum.

[4] *Boll.* frequenter agente diabolo prosiliunt extra ignem.

[5] *Hak.* demones in effigie fumi nigerrimi fugerunt et idola remanserunt et combusta sunt.

[6] *Boll.* Indignatus ergo Sathanas cum suis, quia vasa diu possessa amisit, in aere vociferat dicens, Videre qualiter de meo habitaculo cum injuria sum expulsus, etc.

[7] Instead of this, *Hak.* has an unintelligible sentence meant for the following as found in *Mus.* ...baptizant, qui cito ad ydola et errores suos multotiens recederent nisi fratres semper cum illis stent ad illos in fide Christi continue confirmandos.

[8] *Ven., Far.* Nachara; *Hak. has* Maxime de cytharis unde multum timui; *Mus. the like.*

mora.[1] Et quamquam in illa sic omnes moriantur, tamen volui intrare ut viderem finaliter quid hoc esset. Dum sic autem vallem ego intrassem, ut jam dixi, tot corpora mortua ibi vidi quod nisi aliquis illa vidisset quasi sibi incredibile videretur. In hac etiam valle ab uno latere ejus in ipso saxo unam faciem hominis valde[2] terribilem ego vidi, quæ in tantum terribilis erat quod præ nimio timore spiritum me perdere penitus credebam.[3] Qua propter[4] VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST continue meo ore proferebam. Ad ipsam faciem nunquam fui ausus totaliter appropinquare sed ab ipsa vii vel viii passibus distans ego fui. Cum autem illic accedere non auderem, ad aliud caput vallis ego ivi[5] et tunc ascendi super unum montem arenosum, in quo undique circumspiciens nichil videbam preter illa achara[6] quæ pulsari mirabiliter audiebam. Cum autem in capite montis ego fui illic, argentum reperi in maxima quantitate, ibi, quasi squamæ piscium, congregatum de quo posui in gremio meo.[7] Et quia de ipso non curabam[8] illud totaliter in terram projeci. Et sic dante Deo inde illæsus exivi. Deinde omnes Sarraceni cum hoc sciverunt reverebantur me multum, dicentes me esse baptizatum et sanctum; illos autem qui erant mortui in illa valle dicebant esse homines demonis infernalis.[9]

50. *Unum refert de magno Cane Fr. Odoricus.*[10]

Unum referam de magno Cane quod vidi. Consuetudo est in illis partibus quod quando prædictus dominus per aliquam contratam transit,

[1] *Hak.* Et ideo omnes de contrata declinant a latere. Et tentatus eram intrare et videre quid hoc esset, *and so on, telling the same story, but in words generally quite different; Mus.* agrees as usual with *Hak.*, but expresses things a little more wordily.

[2] *Ven.* Maximum et terribilem.

[3] Videbam.

[4] *Ven.* Cum signo crucis.

[5] *Ven. simply* Ivi tandem ad aliud caput vallis.

[6] *Ven.* nihil videbam nisi quod audiebam Nachera illa pulsare; *Hak.* nihil vidi nisi cytharas illas, etc.; *Mus. has the like.*

[7] *Hak. adds* pro mirabili ostendendo, sed ductus conscientiâ in terram projeci nihil mecum reservans, etc.

[8] *Ven.* et timens etiam ne tali illusione forte mihi denegare exitus.

[9] *Hak.* demonum infernalium qui pulsant cytharas ut homines alliciant intrare et interficiant. Hæc de visis certitudinaliter ego Fr. Odoricus hic inscripsi; et multa mirabilia omisi ponere quia homines non crediderint nisi vidissent.

[10] *Here occurs one of the marked differences in the copies. For at this place the copies* Far. *and* Boll. *conclude Odoric's narrative and introduce his attestation of veracity,* Ego Frater Odoricus, etc., *as below. After this they add an appendix, as it were:* Notandum quod ego frater Marchesinus de Bassano de ordine Minorum ista audivi a fratre Odorico predicto, ipso adhuc vivente, nam plura audivi quæ ipse non scripsit. Inter alia quæ ipse locutus est hoc quoque dixit. Nam dixit quod semel dum Canis Magnus iret in Cambalec [de] Sandu ipse frater Odoricus erat cum iiii^{or} fratribus minoribus sub una arbore quæ plantata erat juxta viam per quam ipsum Canem transitum facere oportebat. Unus autem istorum fratrum erat episcopus. Cum autem iste Canis cœpit appropinquare iste episcopus induit se habitu episcopali, et accepit crucem et posuit eam in fusto, et tunc isti iiii^{or} fratres inceperunt altâ voce cantare ymnum VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS. Et tunc Canis Magnus hoc audito rumore interrogavit quid hoc esset. Tum illi iiii^{or} barones qui erant juxta eum dixerunt quod erant iiii^{or} Rabani Franchi. Tunc ipse Canis fecit eos ad se accedere. Ille autem episcopus acceptâ cruce de fusto tradidit eam osculandam ipso Magno Cani. Ipse vero jacebat, et statim visâ cruce erexit se in sedendo, et deposito galerio de capite crucem fuit devote et humillime osculatus. Iste autem Dominus unam consuetudinem habet. Nam nullus

omnes homines ante hospicia[1] suorum domorum igne accendunt et aromata apponunt ac faciunt fumum, ut domino suo transeunti odorem emittant. Et multi homines obviam sibi vadunt. Dum autem semel[2] veniret in Cambalec et de adventu suo certitudinaliter diceretur, unus noster episcopus et aliqui nostri fratres minores et ego ivimus sibi obviam bene per duas dietas. Et dum appropinquavimus ad eum posui[3] crucem super lignum, ita quod publice videri poterat. Ego vero habebam in manu thuribulum quod mecum detuleram. Et incepimus cantare alta voce, dicentes VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS, etc. Et dum sic cantaremus audivit voces nostras nosque vocari fecit et ad eum accedere nos jussit. Cum superius alias dictum sit, nullus audet currui suo appropinquare ad jactum lapidis nisi vocatus exceptis custodientibus eum. Et dum ivissemus ad eum cruce elevatâ, deposuit statim galerium suum sive capellum inestimabilis quasi valoris, et fecit reverentiam ipsi cruci. Statimque in thuribulum quod habebam incensum reposui, et episcopus noster de manu meâ accepit, eumque thurificavit. Accedentes ad predictum dominum semper aliquid ad offerendum secum deferunt, observantes illam legem antiquam, NON APPAREBIS IN CONSPECTU MEO VACUUS. Idcirco portavimus nobiscum aliqua poma [et ea] sibi super unum incisorium reverenter obtulimus. Et ipse duo accepit de ipsis pomis, et de uno aliquantulum comedit. Et deinde predictus episcopus noster ei benedictionem suam impendit. Et hoc facto nobis innuit ut recederemus ne equi post ipsum venientes et multitudo in aliquo nos offenderent. Statim vero ab eo discessimus et divertimus, et ad aliquos barones suos per fratres nostri ordinis ad fidem conversos ivimus, qui in exercitu ejus erant. Et obtulimus eis de predictis pomis. Qui cum maximo gaudio ipsa recipientes, ita videbantur lætari, ac si illis prebuissemus familiariter magnum munus.

51. *Testimonium perhibet Fr. Odoricus.*

Ego frater Odoricus Boemus[4] de foro Julii provinciæ sancti Antonii de

audet in conspectu suo vacuus apparere, unde ipse Fr. Odoricus habens unum parvum calathum plenum pomis ipsi magno Cani fecit exenium. Ipse autem Canis accepit duo poma unum quorum medietatem comedit, aliud vero in manibus ipse gestabat et sic inde recessit. Ex quo satis apparet quod ipse Canis aliquid habuit in fide nostrâ, propter Fratres Minores qui continue in sua curiâ commorantur, cum deposuerit galerium et fecerit tam devote hanc reverentiam ipsi cruci; quod galerium secundum quod audivi a fratre Odorico plus valet quam tota Marchia Trevisana, propter perlas quæ sunt ibi et lapides preciosas. *The preceding is given by the Bollandists after H. de Glatz in the same manner with slightly different language. The following is omitted by* BOLL., *but is added to the above in the Farsetti MS., and as far as I have seen, appears in no other:* Præterea unum aliud audivi ab eo. Nam dixit quod semel in anno Magnus Canis mittit unum de Tartaris suis ad Soldanum Babilloniæ, quem recepit cum magno timore. Et die constitutâ Soldanus stat super unius parvi rivuli ripam et Tartarus stat in alia ripâ cum arcu in manu tenso et cum sagittâ fortissime venenatâ. Stat Soldanus genibus flexis et manibus cancellatis, nihil breviter habens in capite nec in dorso præter interulam. Quem iste Tartarus crudeliter multum alloquens, ter interrogat, dicens: Confiteris tu quod habeas vitam pro Magno Cane, et quod sis servus ejus. Soldanus autem respondet cum magno timore quod sic. Alioquin statim illum interficeret. Hoc autem Canis in signum suæ potentiæ fieri facit: præterea nec arbitror oblivioni mandandum.

[1] *Ven.* hostia (i.e., ostia). [2] *Ven.* quâdam vice. [3] *Ven.* posuimus.

[4] This addition to Odoric's description of himself occurs in no other copy that I have seen, Latin or Italian.

quâdam terrâ quæ dicitur Portus Maonis,[1] de ordine fratrum minorum, testificor et testimonium perhibeo Reverendo Patri fratri Guidotto ministro antedictæ provinciæ sancti Antonii in Marchia Trevissina, cum ab eo fuerim per obedientiam requisitus quod hæc omnia quæ superius scripta sunt, aut propriis oculis vidi aut ab hominibus fide dignis audivi; communis etiam locutio illarum contratarum illa quæ non vidi testatur esse vera.[2] Multa etiam alia ego dimisi quæ scribi non feci, cum ipsa quasi incredibilia apud aliquos viderentur nisi illa propriis oculis conspexissent. Ego autem de die in diem me preparo ad illas contratas accedere, in quibus dispono me mori ut illi placebit a quo cuncta bona procedunt.[4] Prædicta autem fideliter frater Guillelmus de Solagna in scriptis redegit sicut prædictus frater Odorius Boemus ore proprio exprimebat, anno Domini M.CCC.XXX[5] mense Maii Paduæ in loco Sancti Antonii. Nec curavit de latino difficili et curioso ac ornato, sed sicut ille narrabat sic iste scribebat, ad hoc ut omnes facilius intelligerent quæ dicuntur, etc.[6]

[*This is the end of the Parisian MS., No.* 2584. *The following conclusion is from* MS. FAR.]

52. *De morte fratris Odorici.*

Ipse Beatus Frater Odoricus cum de ultramarinis partibus ad suam provinciam remeasset, marchiam scilicet Trevisanam, presentiam summi Pontificis adire volebat, ut ab eo licentiam peteret per [ut] L fratres, de quâcumque provinciâ essent dummodo ire vellent, secum ducere posset, recessit de Foro Julii unde ipse natus est. Dum esset Pisis gravi infirmitate correptus, quamobrem compulsus est ad propriam [provinciam] remeare. Quapropter in utino de Foro Julii civitate, anno ab incarnatione Domini MCCCXXXI, pridie idus Januarii de hoc mundo triumphans pervenit ad gloriam beatorum. Ubi virtutibus et miraculis quam plurimis coruscat. Nam per eum cæci, claudi, muti, surdi sunt saluti, permittente Domino, restituti. Deo gratias. Amen.

[1] *Ven. correctly* Naonis; *Hak.* Vahonis; *Mus.* Nahomonis.

[2] *Ven.* Quæ etiam omnes illarum partium communiter testabantur.

[3] *Hak. incorrectly* Multa etiam alia ego dimisissem nisi illa propriis oculis conspexissem.

[4] These last words are not in *Venni*, nor in *Ut.*

[5] *In* UT. *this runs as written by William in the first person*—Ego Fr. Gulielmus...redegi...nec curavi de Latino difficili et ornato stilo, sed sicut ille narrabat ego scribebam cum domestico eloquio et communi ad hoc ut omnes facilius intelligerent quæ hic scribuntur, vel in isto libro dicuntur.

[6] HAK. *and* MUS. *relate the same at greater length, with addition of visions etc., and end by quoting the attestation of the notary Guetellus to the detail of Odoric's miracles, which has been mentioned in the biographical notice prefixed to his Itinerary.* BOLL. *has substantially the conclusion that is in the text, adding to the mention of the miracles*: Hoc testatus est litteris suis in curiâ Papæ Patriarcha Aquileiensis in cujus diœcesi hæc fiunt. Et protestatur Styria et Carinthia et multi de Italia et regiones quam plurimæ circumquaque. *And then:* Ego Fr. Henricus dictus de Glatz, qui prædicta omnia transcripsi existens Avenione in curiâ D'ni. Papæ anno D'ni. supradicto, si non intellexissem ibidem de felice Fr. Odorico et sociis qui secum fuerant, tot perfectiones et sanctitatis ejus opera, vix aliquibus hic per eum descriptis credere potuissem: Sed coegit me vitæ suæ veritas dictis ejus fidem credulam adhibere. Scripsi autem hæc anno D'ni. trecentisimo quadragesimo in Pragâ circa festum omnium Sanctorum, et copiosius ea audieram in Avenione.

APPENDIX II.

OLD ITALIAN TEXT OF ODORIC, FROM A MS. IN THE BIBLIOTECA PALATINA AT FLORENCE.

INCOMINCIA LA STORIA DI FRATE ODORIGO.

1. *Viaggio di Trebisonda e dell Erminia Maggiore.*

[*In questo anno corrente del* MCCCXVIII *divotamente prego il mio Signore Iddio che porga tal lume al mio intelletto che io possa in tutto o in parte rammemorare le maravigliose cose da me viste con questi occhi: alle quali perche maravigliose siano, non percio se gli deve aver minor fede, poscià che appresso Iddio niuna cosa e impossibile. Voglio dunque, a coloro che queste cose che io diro vedute non hanno, quanto meglio potro, brevemente scrivendo dimostrarle. E giuro per quell Iddio che in mio aiuto ho chiamato, in questa narratione non dovere io dire ne meno ne più di quel che in varie parti del mondo camminando ho viste.*][1]

Anno Domini MCCCXVIII io frate Odorigo[2] da Friolli de l'ordine de' frati minori della provincia di Padova [*nel mese d'Aprile, con buona licenza del mio superiore*], partimi de la detta provincia e [*navigando con l'ajuto di Dio e buon vento*[3]] veni in Gostantinopoli con altri miei compagni, e di quindi passai il mare Maggiore e veni in Trebisonda nella contrada detta metropolli di Ponto nella qual terra giace il corpo del beato Atanasio che fece il simbolo. E [in] questa terra vidi una mirabil cosa[4] ch' uno[5] che menava più di dumilia pernici[6] le quali il seguitavano per mirabile modo; perchè sempre andavano e volavano e stavan con lui per più di, e ubidielo, e parean quasi che parlassono con lui nella lingua sua.[7] E quando andavano lo 'mperadore prendea delle pernici quante volea, e l'altre se ne venieno co lui infino al castello che si chiama Zavengha.

[1] *From* MIN. RAM. [2] MIN. RAM. di Porto Maggiore.
[3] MIN. RAM. quale tanto piu osero di dirla, quanto che molti con quali ho parlato in Venezia, m' hanno referita d'haver vista simil cosa.
[4] MIN. RAM. un uomo barbuto e di feroce aspetto.
[5] MIN. RAM. a quella guisa che menano i pastori loro armenti.
[6] MIN. RAM. Quale perdici volando e andando via le meno a donare all' imperadore di Constantinopoli.
[7] MIN. RAM. Zanicco.

[*Delche maravigliandomi fortemente udi da coloro che sarebbe egli per far altre prove più maravigliose di queste; fra le quale fu questa, che un giorno essendo stato amazzato un caro e fidelissimo fameglio dell' imperadore*[1] *e non trovandosi il mal fattore, ne fu questo barbuto dall' imperadore con istanza pregato, che con qualche via lo scoprisse. Il quale fatto portare il giovane morto nel mezzo della piazza tutto insanguinato, in presenza di molta gente, scongiurando con li suoi incantesmi, gli messe in bocca una crescia piccola di fior di farina. Il quale non si presto habbe in bocca la crescia, che si rizzo inpiedi e disse chi l'haveva amazzato, e perche cagione: e cio detto ricadde subito morto.*][2]

Di Trebisonda andai a Zangha, ch' è castello de lo 'mperadore, e quivi si cava l'argento[3] e 'l cristallo, secondo che si dice. Quindi andai in Erminia Maggiore, e pervenni ad Arzelone, ch' è presso d'una giornata al fiume del Paradiso detto d'Eufrates. In questa terra una gran donna lasciò in testamento che de' beni suoi si facessoro un munistero di meretrici al servigio degli uomini in ogni carnalità, per l'anima sua maladeta.[4] Di quindi veni al monte ov' è l'Arca Noè, e volentieri sarei salito alla cima del monte avegnache mai non si trovava chi vi potesse salire, ma perchè non volle aspettare la carovanna non volli provarmene. Il monte è altissimo e bellissimo, e quasi va la neve insino a la terza parte del monte.[5]

2. *Delle cittade di Taurisio e di Soldania.*

Poi veni[6] in Persia nella citade ch' è detta Taurisio, e 'n quella via passai il fiume Rosso, ove Alessandro isconfisse il Re d'Asia Dario, e in quella cittade noi abbiamo due luoghi: è nella cittade (?) mirabile moltitudine, e di mercatanti molti, ove è uno monte di sale, del quale può prendere chi ve ne vuole.[7] Di quindi veni in Soldania ov' è la sedia dello Re di Persia, nella quale è un luogo de' Frati Predicatori, e uno de' Frati Minori.

3. *Della cittade de' tre Magi, e del Mare Sabuloso.*

Di quindi venni in Saba cittade e terra della quale furono i tre Magi. E tutti i Saracini che dimorano ivi dicono che i Magi furono di quella terra ch' è cittade grande e ben sicura; ma ora è molta diserta. Ed è di lunge da Gerusaleme ben sessanta giornate. Di quindi pervenimo al mare Sabuloso,[8] cioè il mare della rena, ov' io isteti quatro dì nel porto.[9] E la carrovana non fu ardita d'entrare nel Sabulo, ch' è una rena secca, che si muove al modo del mare della tempesta del vento; che se alcuno allora v'entrasse incontinente sarebbe ricoperto e affogato.

[1] *The* Min. Ram. *has* di Constantinopoli, which is probably an interpolation.
[2] From Min. Ram. [3] Min. Ram. l'oricalco.
[4] This extraordinary story is given more diffusely in Min. Ram. It is in no Latin MS. that I know of.
[5] Min. Ram. *has*—perche il monte e santissimo e oltre cio inaccessibile per l'altissima neve che vi sta tutto l'anno, e piglia almeno le due parti del monte.
[6] Min. Ram. *has absurdly* navigammo e venimmo.
[7] Min. Ram. *has another ignorant interpolation*, e già se n' erano carche navi e mandato dove ne era carestia.
[8] Min. Ram. Sabbionoso. *It is* Sabuoso in the *Palatine*; *I have inserted the* l, *as it occurs below*.
[9] Id. E ci convenne star colla caravana in porto ben quattro giorni. E non fu niuno di noi che ardisse di entrar in questo loco.

Ov' io vidi monti altissimi di rena i quali in poco tempo si disfanno e altri in poco tempo si rifanno.[1] Di quindi pervenni a una cittade grande ch' è chiamata Geste, la quale è ultima terra di Persia verso l' India; nella quale terra è grande abondanza di grano e di fichi, e uve paserine[2] molto buone, e sono verdi come erba e saporitissime. E di quindi entrai in Caldea, nella quale contrada vanno gli uomini ornati al modo delle donne della nostra contrada, e portano in capo cufie ornate di pietre e d'oro e di preziose cose; ma le femine per contrario vanno mal vestite con camice corte insino a ginocchio, e scalze, e le maniche si larghe che toccano infino in terra,[3] e portano eziandio le brache lunghe insino in terra, e 'n capo un poco di panno corto quasi un mezo braccio; e capelli non sono legati. Quivi vidi uno giovane che dovea prender moglie. Quando venne il tempo de lo sposare, tutte le fanciulle vergini della contrada istavan con lei e piangeano, ma lo isposo istava ornato con vestimenti preziosi,[4] il quale cavalcoe sopra un asino, e la moglie gli andò dietro a piede, mal vestita e scalza.[5] Il padre della fanciulla gli diede la benedizione, e in quel modo si maritano quivi le fanciulle.[6] Di quindi dopo molte terre veni a la terra di Giobo. E ottimamente sicura e fertile, e gli uomini de la contrada mi narraro la storia di Giobo. Quivi gli uomini filano e non le femmine.

4. *Della Torre di Babel; et della cittade Ormes.*

Di quindi veni a la tore di Babel presso a quattro giornate per selve di datteri ove non avemo che mangiare niente altro che datteri; e l'aque di quindi son salse e poche ven' avea. E per questa selva andai ben quatordici giornate e volentieri sarei ito a la torre, ma nonne avea compagnia e però lasciai di non irvi. Poi venimmo a Ormes ch' è cominciamento de l' India ed è in capo del mare la quale terra è in un isola ed è dilunge a terra ferma ben cinque miglia: in su la quale non nasce albore e non v'ha aqua dolce ed è citta molto bella, e ben murata. Quivi ae si grande abondanza di datteri che per tre soldi n'arebe altri quantunque e ne potesse portare. Ed eziandio v' è grande abondanza di pane e di pesce e di carne ma non è terra sana. [E] pericolosa, e incredibile di calura. E gli uomini e le femmine son tutti grandi. E passando io quivi fu morto uno, e venirvi tutti i giulari della contrada, e puosollo nel mezzo della casa nel' letto; e due femmine saltavano intorno al morto, e giulari sonavano cemboli ed altri istormenti. Poi due femmine abbracciavano il morto, e lodavallo, e l' altre femmine si levavano ritte, e ciascuna tenea un canello in boca e zufo-

[1] MIN. RAM. E si muta a quella guisa che fa il mare quando è in tempesta, por qui por li, e fa nel muoversi l'istesso ondegiai che fa il mare, in guisa tale che un infinita di persone s'e trovata, camminando per viaggio, oppressa e sommersa e coverta da queste arene, le quali dal vento dibattute e trasportate, por fanno come monte in un loco, e por in un altro, secondo la forza del vento da cui sono elle agitate.

[2] *For* passoline. MIN. RAM. *has* d' uva passa grossissima, *which last word is another interpolation, as the Persian raisins are very small, a fact noted in the best Latin MSS.*

[3] MIN. RAM. *after* ginocchio *has* con brachezze e legazze che pendono in sino al collo del piede.

[4] MIN. RAM. stando il giovane sposo con la testa bassa e leggiadressimamente vestito.

[5] ID. toccando l'asino.

[6] *Here the* MIN. RAM. *and the* PALAT. *cease to run parallel. The former passes at once to the traveller's arrival at Tana.*

lava; e quando avea zufolato, ed ella si ponea a sedere, e così fecero per tutta la notte. E la matina il portaro al sepolcro.

5. *Passa il Fr. Odorico alla Tana d'India.*

Di quindi navicammo per lo mare oceano venti otto dì; poi pervenimmo in Tana, la quale fu cittade del Re Porro; la quale terra è posta in buon luogo, ed a grande abondanza di vittuaglia, e spezialmente di burro, di *susuan* [sisamo ?], e riso. Quivi sono molti diversi animali, leoni neri, e pipistrelli grandi come anitre, topi grandi come cani communi, nè non sono presi da gatti ma da cani per la loro grandeza.[1] In questa terra sono idolatrici, ma 'l signore adorano i saracini il bue[2] e dicono ch' egli è il grande Idio, e non mangiano carne di bue, e lavorano col bue sei anni, il settimo anno i lasciano libero. Prendono anche dello sterco del bue, e pongolosi a la faccia, e dicono da indi inanzi che sono santificati. Alcuno altri adorano gli albori ed alcuno altri adorano il fuoco ed altri i pesci ed altri il sole ed altri la luna. In questa terra non prendono moglie altro che del mese di febraio, e questo è appo loro il primo mese de l'anno. Gli uomini e le femmine vanno tutti ignudi, e 'n cotal modo menano le mogli. Il marito e la moglie salgono insu uno cavallo insieme; è 'l marito di dietro, e tiene la moglie in braccio, e non hanno indosso altro ch' una camicia e 'n capo una mitera grande piena di fiori.[3] E 'l marito tiene un coltello[4] grande ingnudo sopra le spalle della moglie, e tutte le vergini vano innanzi cantando ordinatamente, e ora restano un poco e poi vanno oltre.[5] In questa terra sono albori che fanno vino che 'l chiamano *loahc*[6] e inebria molto gli uomini. Quivi eziandio non si sopeliscono i morti ma portansi con gran festa a campi alle bestie e gli ucelli che gli divorano. E sono qui i buoi bellissimi, che hanno le corna bene uno mezzo passo, e sono iscrignuti a modo d'un camello. In questa terra vidi il luogo e gli uomini qua sono i quatro frati minori[7] come si narra nella storia loro. Da questa terra insino a Panche[8] sono xiiii giornate, e qui è la sedia del Re Poro che fu isconfito dal grande Alessandro.

16.[9] *Del Pepe e come si lo vendemiano; e del regno di Minabar.*

Poi veni per lo mare Oceano quaranta giornate, e pervenni a lo'mperio di Pirabar[10] dove nasce il pepe. E nasce in cotal modo. L' albore che

[1] MIN. RAM. Qui viddi un leon grande e negrissimo alla guisa d'un bufalo: e viddi le nottole o vogliam dice vespertiglioni come sono le anatre di qui da noi; e topi chiamati sorici di Faraone, che sono grandi come volpi, etc.

[2] *The scribe has made a hash of this. It is intended to be the equivalent of* MIN. RAM.—Il paese è di Saracini; la gente è idololatra e adora il bue. *It probably ran*, In questa terra sono Signori i Saracini, ma la gente, etc.

[3] MIN. RAM. una cuffia alta, alla guisa d'una mitra, e lavorata di fiori bianchi.

[4] MIN. RAM. appontato alla gola.

[5] ID. fino a casa dove lo sposo e la sposa si restano soli, e la mattina levati vanno pur nudi come prima.

[6] See note on translation *in loco*.

[7] *Sic. probably should be to this effect:* Vidi il luogo, e gli uomini che uccisero i quattro frati, etc.

[8] *Sic. Perhaps it should be* Paroche (Broach) *mentioned by Jordanus in a letter in this collection.*

[9] The Nos. 6-15 are omitted in order to maintain correspondence with the Latin text.

[10] *Or Pinibar* (for Minibar).

fa il pepe è fatto come l'elera che nasce su per gli muri. Questo pepe sale su per gli albori che gli uomini piantano a modo de l'elera, e sale sopra tutti li albori più alti.[1] Questo pepe fa i rami a modo dell' uve; e in peruno inproducono tanta quantità di frutto ch' è incredibile; e maturo si lo vendemiano a modo de l'uve e poi pongono il pepe al sole a seccare come uve passe, e nulla altra cosa si fa del pepe. E del pepe ricente fanno composto e io ne mangiai, ed ebbine assai. E ivi cosi grande abondanza di pepe come qui in nostra terra di grano. E la selva dura per diciotto giornate, e n tutto il mondo non nasce pepe altro che qui. Quivi sono due citadi, una che si chiama Filandria e l'altra Sigli. Quivi sono molte calcatrici o vero cocolgrilli, e leoni in grande moltitudine, e diverse bestie che non sono in Franchia. Quie si arde il verzino per legne, e tutti i boschi son pieni di paoni salvatichi. Poi venni a Colonbio, ch' è la migliore terra d'India per mercatanti. Quivi è il gengiovo in grande copia e del buono del mondo. Quivi vanno tutti ignudi, salvo che portano un panno innanzi a la vergogna istremo (?) e legalosi di dietro.

17. *Delle consuetudini strane della gente di Minabar.*

Quivi adorano il bue e l'idolo loro è mezzo buoe e mezzo uomo, e favella alcun' ora e vuole sangue di xxx uomini e più, e sangue di femmina, e vuole che sieno uccisi dinanzi da lui. E come noi faciamo voti di dare a Dio nostri figliuoli o figliuole, cosi costoro a loro idolo e 'ncontinente che egli il vuole e egli il recano e soenalo dinanzi a lui per reverenza. E spesse volte lo 'mperadore per maggior reverenza o 'l re fa torre a damigelli una vacca, e tolgono un bacino d'oro, e ricevono entrovi l'orina di questa vacca, e lo re se ne lava le mani e 'l volto; poi toglie de lo sterco di questa vacca, e ponselo a la faccia e unguesene le mascelle e'l petto, e poi dice ch' è santificato. E facendo egli questo, tutti fanno il semigliante. In questa terra sono albori che conducono [producono ?] mele, ed è del buono del mondo. Sonvi altri albori che producono vino ed albori che producono lana di che si fa tutto corde e funi, e sonvi albori che producono frutti che di due sarebe carico un forte uomo, e quando si vengono a manicare conviene che altri s'unga le mani e la boca, e sono odorifili e molto saporiti e chiamansi frutto *chabassi*. Quivi udi dire che sono albori che producono uomini e femmine a modo di frutti, e sono di grandezza un gomito, e sono fitti nell' albore insino al bellico, e cosi istanno; e quando trae vento e sono freschi, e quando non, pare che si seccano. Questo non vidi io, ma udilo dire a persone che l'aveano veduto. Sono anche qui più diverse cose che sarebbe lungo a dire e 'ncredibile e però lascio.

18. *Del reame de Mobar dove giace il corpo di San Tomaso Apostolo.*

Poi pervenni a uno imperio che si dice Mabare, ove fu morto San Tomaso apostolo. Quivi è il massimo imperio. Questa Mabor è provincia. Qui si truova le perle, le maggiori e le migliori del mondo. Qui è uno idolo d'oro puro e massiccio della grandezza che si dipingue Santo Cristofano, ed a intorno al collo una corda piena di priete preziose, e di perle grandi. Tutta la chiesa di questo idolo è d'oro puro. Tutti gl' idolatri del paese vanno in peligrinnaggio a questo idolo come i cristiani a Roma, e adorano in questo modo: che prima fanno tre passi, poi si stende in terra boccone; e qui gli fa incenso col turibolo, e poi fa altri tre passi e fa il simigliante, e questo fanno da certo luogo

[1] *The original here is a tangle, which I have tried to reduce to sense.*

insino a l' idolo, andando e reggendo (?) In cotale peligrinagio molti portano una tavola in collo, ovvero mensa forata, e mettono il capo per lo foro, e cosi la tiene infino che perviene a l' idolo, e quivi la gettano dinanzi da lui. Altri sono che si forano il braccio con uno coltello, nè non se nel' tragono da la casa insino a l' idolo. E io vidi questo e tuto il braccio era gia fracido. E molte altre diverse penitenzie quivi fanno.

19. *Delle feste che fanno del loro Idolo.*

E quando è la festa di questo idolo, una volta l' anno, pongono l' idolo in su un carro e menalo in certo luogo. Allora in prima [viene] lo 'm peradore, e poi il papa e altri sacerdoti che si chiamano *tuin*, e altri che si sono botati[1] si vanno sotto il carro, alcuno col capo; alcuno col corpo, secondo il voto che fa, si che le ruote pasando sopra loro muoiono e ogni anno impromettono cosi d' esserne uccisi da cc infino cccc, e cosi è cosa oribilissima a vedere. Altri si offeriscono ispontaneamente a l' idolo, e fannosi un fornimento di fiori e gittano a l' idolo della carne sua, la quale tagliano col coltello d' ogni membro. Poi si percuotono col coltello insino al cuore, dicendo ecco che io muoio per lo Iddio mio. E cosi molti uccidono lor medesimi; e cosi si santificano tra loro, come i martiri tra noi. Molti altri fanno voto de' figliuoli loro e menagli dinanzi da questo idolo e scannagli. Et al lato di questo idolo è un luogo nel quale per la divozione gettano oro e argento, e in questo modo quella chiesa è mirabilmente richissima e chiamasi questo luogo *celai* in lor lingua.

20. *De' reami di Java e di Lamori.*

Di Mabara ci partimmo ed entrai nel mare Oceano, e navicai per più dì; e pervenni a una nobile isola appellata de Iava; la quale è molto grande ed è qui abondanza quasi di tutti i beni. Nella quale isola sono dodici reami ed in ciascuno reame a uno imperadore. Quivi nascono le noci moscade e gherofani, e 'l cubebe, e molte altre ispezie in grande quantità. E qui massimamenta abonda i legno aloe e oro ottissimo. Poi navicai per xl. giornate e arivai ad uno regno che si chiama Lamori, e 'n questa contrada cominciai a perdere la tramontana però che la terra me la togliea. Nella quale terra gli uomini e le femmine senza nulla distinzione vanno ignudi, non abendo niente in alcuna parte, se non che alcuna femmina certo tempo quando partoriscono portano dinanzi a la vergogna una foglia d' arbore e legansela con una coreggia d' albore. E faceansi beffe di me, dicendo Iddio fece Adamo ignudo, ed io mi vesti a mal suo grado. E tutte le femmine sono in commune in tal modo che nulla n' è appropiata a niuno omo, ma ciascuno si può pigliare qual più gli piace, pur che non facia impedimento a l' altro. E quando ingravida puote la femmina appropiare il figliuolo a cui ella vuole. Eziandio tutta la terra è a commune, si che or nullo può dire questa casa è mia ma ci seno hanno in ispeziale.[2] Quivi eziandio mangiano le carni umani, e Saracini vi recano de l' altre provincle gli uomini e vendogli loro in mercatanzia; e sono mangiati da coloro e sono uomini bianchi, che de' neri come sono eglino non mangiano. E sono uomini fieri in battaglia e vanno a la battaglia ignudi, salvo che portano in braccio uno iscudo che gli quoprono insino a piedi. E se prendono alcuno nella battaglia si lo mangiano.

[1] Botati *for* votati.

[2] *Not intelligible. It runs in the MS.*—Ma ciseno (*or*) cifeno ano in ispeziale. *It is probably meant for*, "except that they have houses to themselves," *as in the Latin MSS. If that be so, perhaps* casa *should read* cosa.

21. *Del Reame ch' e chimata Sumetra.*

Di quindi ci partimmo e venimmo ad un altro regno di questa Isola ch' è chiamata Sumetra, e qui portano alcun cosa per vestimento, cio è un panno istretto sopra la vergogna. E sono eziandio fieri uomini e pigliano bataglia co' sopra detti. E tutti questi uomini e femine sono segnati in della fronte, cioè nella faccia, d'un ferro di cavallo a nostro modo. In questa contrada è grande mercato di porci e di galline e di burro e di riso, è qui è frutto ottimo cioè *Mussi.* E trovasi quivi oro e stagno a grande quantità. Quivi si pigliano le tartugi, cioè testugini, mirabili, e sono di molti colori e paiono quasi dipinte. Poi veni a l' altro regno di questa Isola ch' è chiamata Bucifali e 'l mare di turci (?) questo regno si chiama il mar morto. Ed egli è tutto il contrario, che 'l mare pende e corre si forte ch' è incredibile, e se marinai si partono punto dallito vanno discendendo, e non tornano mai. E non è alcuno che sapiano dove si vadono, e molti sono cosi iti e non seppono mai che se ne fossono. E la nave nostra fuè in grande pericolo, andando quindi, se non se che Idio ci aiutoe miracolosamente.

22. *Dell' albori che danno farina; e de' aghi velenati che soffiano i corsali da certe canne.*

In questa isola sono albori che producono farina e 'l pane che se ne fa è assai bianco di fuori, ma dentro è alquanto nero ma in cucina questa farina è molto buono. E non ti maravigliare che gli albori facciano farina, imperciò che 'l modo è questo. Prendono una iscure, e perquotono l' albore in quella l'albore fa schimma e fa gromma molto grossa. Poi prendo[no] vasi ovvero ceste, e tolgono quella gromma e mettolavi dentro poi per xxx dì per se medesimo sanza tocarla. Divien farina in quello modo. Poi per tre dì prendono aqua marina e colano quella farina in quella aqua, poi gettano quella aqua marina, poi per tre dì prendono aqua dolce e 'ntridola con quella; poi ne fanno la bella massa, e pare il più bello pane che sia al mondo nel sapore. Onde nel regno ove noi savamo (?) ci vene meno tutti gli altri alimenti fuori che questa farina en grande quantità e a buono mercato. E questa contrada tiene insieme bene quatordici migliaia d' isole e altri dicono di meno. Alcuno chiama questa contrada da Talamosa e alcuni altri Panthe. En queste isole sono molte cose maravigliose e strane. Onde alcuni albori ci sono che fanno farina come detto, è alcuni fanno mele, alcuni seta, alcuni lana e alcuni che fanno veleno pessimo. Contro al quale nullo v' è rimedio se non se lo sterco de l'uomo. E quelli uomini sono quasi tutti corsali, e quando vanno a battaglia portano ciascuno una canna in mano, di lunghezza d'un braccio e pongono in capo de la canna uno ago di ferro atossiato in quel veleno, e sofiano nella canna e l'ago vola e percuotolo dove vogliono, e 'ncontinente quelli ch' è percosso muore. M'a egli hanno le tina piene di sterco d'uomo e una iscodella di sterco guarisce l' uomo da queste cotali ponture. In questa contrada a canne alte più di lx passi, si grosse che sarebbe impossibile a credere. Anche v'ae un' altra generazione di canne che si istendono per terra e chiamassi *cansalle.* E'n ogni nodo di quelle canne fanno barbe a modo di gramigna, e queste cane crescono e prolungansi per diritto tramito per tera più d' un miglio ma non sono molto grosse, ma a modo delle canne di Franchia. In queste canne vi nascono entro priete[1] che chiunque tiene di queste priete sopra se, dicono che nullo

[1] *As once before for* pietre.

ferro lo può tagliare. Or quando vogliono trovare la prieta, si percuotono la canna col ferro e se'l ferro nola taglia ede cercano per la prietra, e tolgono legni agutisimi, e taglienti e cepi e tagliono e 'ncidono tanto che pervengono a la pietra, el padre ch' à figliuoli tolgono questa pietra e fanno una fenditura nel dosso al figliuolo e mettonvi entro questa pietra; poi la fa saldare il del corpo del fanciullo poi nullo ferro può mai tagliare della carne di questo uomo. Quegli che vogliono combattere con questi cotali ch' ano questa pietra portano pali di legno apuntatissimi, e con quelli gli fierono e uccidono. Li uomini di questa contrada sono tutti grandisimi ladroni. Quivi nasce un pesce ch' à cotale natura che quando altri pigliase questo pesce e ricideselo in più parti e una di queste parti si racozi e tochi l' altra incontinente si rapica insieme e saldasi come se mai non v' avesse; avuto niente. Di questo pesce fanno seccare e fannone polvere, e portala con loro duunche vanno in battaglia, e pongosela i loro ferite e 'ncontinente salda. En questa contrada a due vie, l' una va in Zapa, e l'altra in Silania.[1]

23. *Dell Isola di Silan.*

(Silan) è una grande isola nel la quale sono diverse bestie e massimamente serpenti i magiori del mondo. Ed è incredibile ed è ancora mirabile cosa, che nè bestia nè serpenti noe impediscono nessuno uomo forestiere, e [offendono ?] massimamente que' dell' isola. E sono quivi molti leofanti salvatichi. Ed avi una generazione di serpenti ch' anno collo di cavallo e capo di serpente e corpo di cane e coda di serpente ed anno quatro piedi e sono grandi come buoi e piccoli com' asini. Il rè di questa isola è molto ricco in oro e 'n pietre preziose. Quivi si truovano i buoni diamanti e rubini e perle in grande copia. Quivi è 'l monte grande come dicono quelli della contrada ch' Adamo e Adeba piansono Abello per Caino. In sulla cima del monte à alcuna pianura bella ed avi un lago, e dicono che l' aqua di quello lago sono le lagrime d'Adamo ed *Adeba*. Nel fondo di questo lago sono pietre preziose. Il Re di quindi no vi lascia pescare se no se gente povera è bisongnosa. Quando alcuno a licenza di pescare si va ed ugnesi tutto quanto del sugo *lunbors*[2] e poi vae al fondo e quante può prendere di queste pietre vae e recale suso. E sonvi tante di queste mignatte che se non fosse il sugo di questo albore uciderebbe gli uomini. E ciascuno vi puote entrare una volta e quello che prende è suo. Questo fa il Re per cagione umile.

Di questo lago esce un rivo e 'n questo rivo si truovano i buoni cherubini[3] in grande quantita, e quando questo rivo entra in mare quivi si truovano le buone perle. E questa isola è delle maggiori ch' abbia l'India ed a grande abondanza di formento e d'olio e d'ogni bene. Molti mercatanti vanno a questa isola per la grande abondanza delle pietre che vi sono. Avi assai altre cose delle quali narrare non curo.

24. *Dell' Imperadore di Zapa, che a gran copia de' leofanti.*

Poi andai per molte giornate navicando e pervenni a lo 'mperio di Zapa;[4] ch'è bella terra ed è molto abondante, quasi in ogni cosa. Quello imperadore al ne torno di xiiii^{m} di leofanti, e gli altri uomini anno i leofanti come noi abbiamo nella nostra contrada i buoi. E quello im-

[1] *Here is a very manifest interpolation by way of accounting for the double narrative, noticed in the introduction.*

[2] *Sic. probably for* limbone.

[3] *Sic.*

[4] *Doubtless for* Zāpa, *i.e.*, Zampa.

peradore secondo che si dice ae da dugento figliuoli e figliuole, tutte propie e propii.

Un' altra maravigliosa cosa a 'n questa contrada che ciascune generazioni di pesci che sono in mare vengono in questa contrada in sì grande quantità che nulla altra cosa si vede in mare se non se pesci; e medesimamente si gettano sopra la riva e catuna persona ne prende quanti ne vole; e stanno così in sulla riva per due dì o tre e poi viene un' altra generazione di pesci, e fanno il simile, e così tutte l' altre generazioni di pesci, una volta l'anno. Ed essendo domandati gli uomini della contrada perchè così facciano, rispondono che vengono a fare reverenza a lo 'mperadore. In questa contrada vidi una testugine maggiore per tre volte che non è la chiesa di santo Antonio di Padova, ed altre maraviglie v' à assai. Quando alcuno muore in questa contrada, il marito morto ardollo e con esso lui la moglie, e dicono che la moglie va a stare col marito nell' altro mondo, e cotali modi tengono.

35. *Dell' Isola di Nichoverra dove anno gli uomini la testa a modo d'un cane.*

Partendomi di questa contrada navicai per lo mare Oceano per lo merizzo,[1] e trovai molte isole e contrada, tra le quali n' a una che si chiama Nichovera.[2] E gira bene dumila miglia; nella quale tutti gli uomini anno il capo a modo d'un cane, e adorano il bue. E ciascuno porta in della fronte un bue d'oro o d'argento, e tutti vanno ignudi, le femmine e gli uomini, salvo che la vergogna si cuoprono con una tovagliuola. Sono queste genti grandi del corpo, e forti in battaglia, e vanno ignudi nella battaglia, salvo che portano uno iscudo che'l cuopre tutto, e se pigliano alcuno in battaglia che no si possa ricomperare pecunia, si lo mangiano.[3] E lo Re loro[4] porta ccc. gran pietre a collo, e conviene che faccia ogni dì ccc. orazioni agli Iddi suoi. E porta in della mano ritta un grande cherubino, e[5] lungo bene una ispana, pare una fiamma di fuoco:[6] la quale il Gran Cane s'è molto ingegnato d' averla, e no l' à potuta avere. Questo Re[7] tiene giustizia, sì che ogni uomo può ire liberamente per lo suo reame.

Evvi un' altra isola che si chiama Sillia[8] che gira anche bene *m m* miglia, ne la quale son serpenti e molti altri animali salvatichi e leofanti e diversi uccelli.

Sonci uccelli grandi come oche ed anno due capi, e grande quantità di vettuaglia.

26. *Della gente dell' Isola domandata Dodin, e delle sue consuetudini orribili.*

Partendomi quinci verso oriente perveni a una grande isola chiamata Dodin,[9] nella quale sono pessimi uomini e mangiano la carne cruda [ed]

[1] Min. Ram. *has* verso il Nirisi, whatever that may mean.
[2] Min. Ram. Nicoverra.
[3] Min. Ram. S' egli mangiano arrostiti. E 'l simile e futto a loro dai nemici.
[4] Min. Ram. di queste vestie.
[5] Min. Ram. e per lo vero Iddio, *the occasional introduction of which oath is peculiar to that copy.*
[6] Id. che parea d'haver in mano un carbone infocato.
[7] Id. benche sia idololatra e col viso rassembri un cane, tien ragione e giustizia, ed ha gran quantità di figlioli, ed e di gran possanza e per tutto, etc.
[8] Here we have Ceylon again, showing that the work has been tampered with.
[9] Min. Ram. Diddi.

immondizia. Questi anno sozza consuetudine: il padre mangia il figliuolo, e'l figliuolo il padre, il marito la moglie, e la moglie il marito; in questo modo, che vanno al sacerdoto e dicono cosi (quand' anno alcuna malatia), domanda lo Dio s'io debbo guarire di questa malatia. Se lo idolo risponde (ch'è 'l diavolo che favella) e dice che debbia guarire, si dice loro andate e fate cosi, e guarà, e cosi fanno. E se lo idolo risponde che debbia morire; e'l sacerdote viene con uno panno in mano e pogliele in sulla bocca e afogallo. Poi il tagliano per pezzi, e invitano tutto il parentado, e mangiollo con canti e con festa. Poi mettono l'ossa di per se, tutte quante, e prendole e metonle soterra con solennitade. E quelli parenti che non vi fossono invitati se'l riputano a disonore.[1] Io ripresi costoro;[2] rispuosonmi che'l mangiavano, perchè se gli inverminasse l'anima patirebbe pena.[3]

27. *Delle* xxiv *mila isole d'India.*

Molte novità sono in questa India le quali se l'uomo no le vedese no le crederebbe, però no le iscrivo qui ma in altro luogo ne farò memoria; che in tutto il mondo no se tante novità quanto sono in questa. E dimandando diligentemente del tenore di questa India tutti mi dissono che questa India tiene xxiiii^mo^ d' isole in se, e sono più di sessantaquatro Re, e la maggiore parte è bene abitata.

28. *Come pervene Frate Odorico all'India Superiore ed alla nobile provincia di Manzi.*

Navicando per più giornate verso l'oriente perveni a l'India superiore, e pervenimmo a la nobile provincia di Manzi, la quale è chiamata l'India di Sopra. Nella quale provincia se duemila grandi città di tra le quali città Trevigi nè Vicenza no sarebono nominate per cittadi.[4] Ed è si grande moltitudine di genti in quella India che tra noi non sarebbe (in)credibile. Nella quale a grande quantità di pane, di vino, di carne, di pesci e d'ogni vettuaglia, come in nulla terra di mondo. E gli uomini [sono] artifici e mercatanti, nè per nulla povertà ch'abbia nullo di loro no adomandano limosina, insino che possono atarsi con le loro mani. Gli uomini di questo paese sono assai belli di corpo, ma nel viso sono alquanto pallidi, avendo barba a modo di gatto.[5] Le femmine sono le più belle del mondo.

29. *Della gran cittade di Tescalan.*

In questa provincia la prima citade che io trovai si chiama Teschalan,[6] la quale è maggiore che tre volte Vinegia, di lunge dal mare una giornata, posta in su un fiume. Questa cittade a tanto naviglio ched è incredibile,

[1] Min. Ram. E quali sono lieti quando alcuno s'inferma, per posserlo mangiare e farne festa.

[2] Min. Ram. e dettogli che farebbono meglio a lasciarli morire naturalmente, e sotterrarli.

[3] Min. Ram. di modo che Iddio offesa dalla puzza non gli riceverebbe nella gloria sua.

[4] Min. Ram. Più de due mila grosse cittadi, ed altre tante tenute e grosse castella, che sono come Vicenza o Trivigi, che non han nome di città. In questa paese e tanta moltitudine di gente, che è una cosa incredibile, di tal sorte che in molte parti di detta provincia viddi più stretta la gente che non e a Vinetia al tempo dell' Ascensione.

[5] Min. Ram. con i peli della barba irti e male composti alla guisa delle capre.

[6] Min. Ram. Tescol.

che tra tutta Italia non a tanto. In questa terra ae le maggiori oche del mondo che sono ben per due delle nostre[1] e sono bianche come latte. Ed ano sopra del capo un osso grande come un novo vermiglio come una grana, e sotto la gola pende una pelle bene per uno semisso ed assi l'uno di questi cotali per un grosso, e cosi l'oche come l'anitre, e cosi le galline sono si grandi ch' è maravigliosa cosa a vedere. In questa cittade s'à per meno d'un Viniziano[2] ben trecento lib. di gengiovo fresco. In questa contrada sono maggiori serpenti ch' abbia il mondo, e pigliogni e mangialli in ogni convito da bene, e no è tenuto bello convito se di questo nu a.[3] Qui è abondanza d'ogni vittuaglia.

30. *Della nobile città di Zaiton; e de' munasteri degli idolatri.*

Di quindi mi parti di questa contrada e veni per xxxvi[4] giornate e trovai dimolte cittadi e castella, poi veni a una nobile cittade che si chiama *Zataiton;*[5] nella quale nostri frati minori anno due [luoghi]. E 'n questa terra portammo l'ossa de' frati che furo martirizati per Gesò Cristo. In questa terra ae abondanza di tutte le cose necessarie al corpo de l'uomo, più che 'n tera che sia al mondo. Averebbonsi bon tre libre de zuchero per un grosso. Ed è citade grande per due volte Bologna.[6] Sonci molti munasteri di religiosi di l'idolatri, ne' quali sono ben dumilia riligiosi, ed anno bene xi^m^ d'idoli. E 'l minore[7] è a modo d'un grande san Christofano, ed anno loro dimolte vivande calde che vanno insino al naso. Gli altri vivande si mangiano eglino.[8]

31. *Della città di Fozzo; e del modo che pescano i pescatori.*

Partendomi di questa terra e venendo verso oriente ad una citade che si chiama Fozzo[9] che gira ben trenta miglia. Qui sono i maggiori galli del mondo; e le galline bianche come latte, e non anno penne ma lana a modo di pecore. Quindi partendoci andai per xviii giornate passando per molte cittadi e castella, veni a un grande monte. E da un lato di questo monte tutti gli animali son neri e gli uomini e le femmine a nostro modo di vivere; da quali de l'altro lato del monte verso oriente per contrario tutti gli animali vi sono bianchi.[10] Inte (?) quelle che sono maritate in questo luogo per segno di matrimonio portano un grande barile di corno.[11]

Partendomi per altre xviii giornate passando cittadi e castella arrivai a[11] un grande fiume ch' ae[12] un grande ponte a traverso sopra il fiume; e albergai in capo del ponte. E l'oste, volendomi fare a piacere, mi disse, "Vo tu venire a vedere pescare, vieni qui." E menomi in sul ponte;

[1] Min. Ram. maggiori tre volte delle nostre.
[2] Id. per un ducato viddi dar 700 libre, etc.
[3] Id. Anzi quando vogliono far convito più famoso, tanti più serpenti apparecchiano, e danno in tavola a convitati.
[4] Id. 27.
[5] Id. Zanton.
[6] Id. Huomini e donne sono piacevoli e belli e cortesi, massime a forastieri.
[7] Id. e due volte più grande d'un uomo.
[8] Id. e loro si mangiano le bevande refreddate che sono.
[9] Id. Foggia.
[10] Id. Ma l'una parte e l'altra mi pareva che vivessino e vestisseno come bestie.
[11] Id. portano in testa un corno di legno coverto di pelle lungo più di due spanne a mezzo la fronte.
[12] Id. ad una città chiamata Belsa, che ha un fiume, etc.

quivi di sotto erano barche. E vidi maragoni[1] in su pertiche ; e l'uomo gli legò la bocca, ovvero la gola con filo, che non potessono mangiare de pesci. Poi puose tre gran ceste nella barca ; poi isciolse i maragoni in quali si gitavano nell' aqua, e prendeano de' pesci, e metevagni nella barca, e tosto l'ebbero piene. Poi isciolsono i maragoni il filo ch' aveano legato a collo, e mandavano nel fiume a pascergli. E pasciuti tornavano a loro luoghi, e passando per molte giornate vidi pescare in altro modo. Gli uomini della barca erano ignudi, e aveano sacco a collo e gittandosi nell' aqua pigliavano i pesci con mano e metteano nel sacco.[2] Tornando gelati nella barca si entravano in uno tinello d' aqua calda, e poi faceano il semigliante.

32. *Della maravigliosa citta de Chansai.*

Di questo luogo e cittade partendomi perveni ad una grande e maravigliosa citade chiamata Chansai, ch' è a dire in nostra lingua "Cittade del Cielo." Questa è la magiore cittade del mondo.[3] Nella quale non ae ispana di terreno che non s' abiti. E sonvi case di dieci e dodici famiglie e masserizie.[4] La detta cittade a borghi grandissimi, ne' quali abitano assai più gente che nella cittade. La cittade ae dodici porte principali e a ciascuna porta preso a otto miglia sono cittadi, ciascuna maggiore che Padova o Vinegia ; nelle quali andammo sei e sette dì per uno di que' borghi.[5] Questa cittade è in aqua di lagune a modo di Vinegia, nella quale à più di xii^{m6} ponti e 'n ciascuna istanno guardie che guardano la cittade per lo gran Cane. A lato a questa cittade corre un fiume cheposcha,[7] lo quale è più largo che lungo. Della quale diligentemente domandai i Cristiani e Saracini e idolatri, e tutti mi rispuosono per una lingua, Catuno paga per lo signore una bastise,[8] ciò cinque carte bambagine, che sono bene uno fiorino e mezzo. E per questa cagione sono ben dodici famiglie ad un fuoco. Questi focolari sono lxxxv tumani ed anche iv tumani di Saracini, si che in tutto sono lxxxix tumani. Ed è il tumano x^{m} fuochi.[9] Gli altri sono mercatanti e gente che va e viene. Maravigliomi molto come tanta gente possono insieme abitare, ed avi si grande dovizia di pane e di vino e di porci, e di riso, e bigini, ch' è un nobile beveraggio, e di tutte altre vittuaglie, ch' è maraviglia a vedere. Questa è cittade reale nella quale dimora il Rè di Manzi.

33. *Della maraviglia che vede il Fr. Odorico in un munistero degli idolatri.*

In questa cittade nostri frati minori[10] convertirono a la fede un poten-

[1] Marangone *is a diver* (*sea bird so called*). *In this story the* Min. Ram. *has the extraordinary variation which has been noticed in a note on the translation.* Marigione, *apparently intended for the same word, is there applied to a seal.*

[2] Min. Ram. per un ottavo d'ora.

[3] Min. Ram. E si grande che a pena ardisco di dirlo : Ma ho ben trovate in Vinetia assai persone che vi sono state.

[4] Min. Ram. Casa vi ne sono assaissime di otto e di dieci solari, che in ogni solaro habita una fameglia con le sue massarie per la gran carestia di terreno (*the interpolation of some self-sufficient scribe*).

[5] Id. Noi eravamo 7 che andassimo per quei borghi.

[6] Id. *again has* per Dio vero e sono di certo di più di dieci miglia.

[7] *Sic.*

[8] *For* Balisi ; *still further corrupted in* Min. Ram. *to* Bastagne.

[9] The Min. Ram. has got all wrong here, but it is scarcely worth quoting.

[10] Lit. Ram. *says*, dove e un luogo dei Frati minori.

tissimo ne la cui casa io albergai, e diceami, "Atta," (cioè a dire Padre) "vieni e mostreroti la terra." E saliti in una barca, e menoci al munistero[1] di Rabani, cioè religiosi, e dissemi [*should be* disse ad] uno di questi religiosi ;[2] vedi un Rabani che viene di quelle parti dove si pone il sole, e vae a Chanbalu,[3] a ciò che qui prieghi per lo gran signore, e però mostragli alcuna cosa che possa racontare nel suo paese. E quegli prese due grandi mascelle di quelle ch' erano soperchiate alla mensa, e menoci in uno giardino a un monticello ch' era pieno d'albori. E sonando un cembalo venero molti animali salvatichi socio sal[4] gatti-maimoni, iscimie e molte altre bestie salvatiche, tra quali venoro ben tre milia ch' aveano forma d' uomo, i quali s' acconciaro l'uno alato a l'altro, ed a catuno puose una iscodella in mano, e dava loro mangiare. Poi sonando un tamburo, tutti questi animali si tornavano a luogo loro ed io veggendo questo dimandai, che ciò voleva dire. Ed e mi rispuosono ch' erano anime di certi nobili uomini che si veniano a pascere quivi per l'amore di Dio. Ed io istogliendogli di questo, e dicendo loro che non erano anime ma bestiuoli, nulla ne volono credere, e dicono che come l'uomo è nobile in questo mondo, cosi quando muoiono entrano in nobili animali. E del vilano dicono ch' entra in brutti animali. Questa è la maggiore città del mondo e la migliore per mercatanti, ed è molto doviziosa d'ogni bene come detto è.

34. *Della cittade Chilensi ; e del gran fiume Talay.*

Partendomi quindi andai per sei giornate e perveni a una grande cittade che si chiama Chilensi.[5] I muri di questa cittade girano bene xl miglia, ne' quale sono ccclx ponti[6] di pietra de' belli ch' abbia nel mondo. Questa cittade fue la prima sedia del Re de Manzi ed è cittade molto bene abitata, e di grande naviglio maravigliosa, e [di] copia di tutti i beni del mondo. Di quindi partendomi per tre giornate veni a uno grande fiume de maggiori del mondo che là dove gli è più istretto è largo ben vii miglia.[7] Questo fiume passa per mezzo la città Piomario[8] la cui contrada si chiama Chaicho, ch' è delle più belle cittadi del mondo, e delle maggiori. I quali uomini ch' abitano in questa terra son grandi tre spanne, e fanno il maggiore lavoro di bambagia (cioè di cotone) che si vedesse mai. E grandi uomini che sono tra loro ingenerano figliuoli e figliuole che sono più che la metà di que' piccoli e 'ngenerano sanza novero.

35. *Delle città di Jamsai e di Menzu.*

Andando per questo fiume del Talaigi,[9] passando per più cittadi venni ad una cittade che si chiama .....[10] nella quale a un luogo di frati

[1] Min. Ram. In un munistero chiamato Thebe.

[2] Min. Ram. *has* Ed uno di quei religiosi mi disse, O Rabin...va con questo che è del tuo ordine che vi mostrera qual cosa di nuovo, etc. *It is very much corrupted and interpolated by one who misunderstood things.*

[3] It is in the MS. Ghabatau; but as it is right elsewhere I have corrected it here.

[4] *Not intelligible in MS.*

[5] Lit. Ram. Chilense. [6] Id. Porte.

[7] Min. Ram. Ma perche no vi erano cose degne di meraviglia, poco vi dimorammo, e navigando trovammo un fiume largo più di 20 miglia, di cui un ramo passo per la terra chiamata Piemaronni, etc.

[8] *Or* Piomazio. [9] *Should be* del Talay e.

[10] Min. Ram. Sai.

minori. In questa cittade sono chiese di cristiani Nestorli. Questa cittade e nobile e grande ch' ane lviii tomani di focolari ch' evve il tomano x^m focolari.[1] In questa cittade sono tute quelle cose di che debbiono vivere gli christiani.

Il senore a solamente di rendita di questa di sale L tomani di balissi che vale il balisso un fiorino e mezzo, che monta il tumano xv^m fiorini d'oro. Questa terra a questa usanza, che quando alcuno vol fare alcuno convito a suoi grandi amici, sonvi alberghi diputati cione, e dice a l'oste Fami un convito di cotanti danari. E nullo è che faccia nullo convito in casa. Questa terra a grandissimo navigli in gran copia. Presso a questa cittade, a dieci miglia ane un' altra cittade, la quale si chiama Menzu, la quale ane il maggiore naviglio che città del mondo ched è incredibile la quantità, e sono tutte bianche dipinte di gesso, avendo in loro quelle belle sale e difici.

36. *Del gran fiume Caramoran.*

Partendomi di questa cittade per otto giornate passando per molte cittadi e castella e d'aque dolci, veni ad una cittade la quale è chiamata Launcj,[2] la quale è fondata sopra un fiume che si chiama Chiaramoran, il quale passa per mezzo del Cataio e fa grande danno quando si corrompe a modo del Pò. E andando per questo fiume passando molte cittadi e castella verso l' oriente per molte giornate, perveni a una grande cittade chiamata Sogomerca,[3] la quale cittade a maggiore abondanza di seta ch' altra cittade che sia al mondo, che quando vene la maggiore carestia se n' arebbe ben xl lib. per[4] meno di viii di grossi, ed ane grande copia d'ogni mercatanzia di pane e d'ogni bene.

37. *Delle grandi città di Chambalu e di Taido, e del palagio del Gran Cane.*

Partendomi della cittade di Sozomacho passai per molte cittadi e terre verso oriente, e perveni[5] à la nobile cittade di Chanbalu.[6] Questa cittade è molto antica ed è nella provincia del Catai. Questa cittade presoro i Tartari, e presso a questa città à un mezzo miglio ne fecero un' altra, che la chiamano Taido. Ed ane xii porti e da l'una a l'altra sono due grandi miglia, e tra l'una cittade a l'altra ben s'abita. E'l circuvito di queste due cittadi che sono insieme gira bene lx miglia. In questa cittade il gran Cane ane la sua sedia, e dentro ene il suo palagio che gira quatro miglia, e contiene in se molti palagi e belli. Egli è quadro, ed a tre cerchi di mura, e in catuno canto d'ogni muro è un grande palagio, si che pur questi son dodici, e catuno è diputato a diverse cose. E nel miluogo è quello dove ista il Signore.[7] E 'l primo

[1] MIN. RAM. 18 Tomani *of* focolari, *each of which is* 10,000 fochi, *and each* foco 10 or 12 families!

[2] MIN. RAM. Laurenza.

[3] MIN. RAM. Sunzomaco, *and below* Sozomacho.

[4] MIN. RAM. per un soldo. .....E perche vi era in questo loco più gente che in niun altro che havessi visto domandando donde ciò avenisse mi fu risposto per conto che l'aria e il luogo sono alla generazione molto salutiferi, di modo tale che poco sono che moiono se non di vecchiezza.

[5] ID. Navigando da quattro giornate. *It is* Chanbanau *in the MS. But, as it is right elsewhere, I have corrected it.*

[6] LIT. RAM. *has* Cambalu.

[7] MIN. RAM. Il cui palazzo gira più di quattro miglia, ed ad ogni cantone

cercuito delle mura ane tre porti in ogni faccia, e dentro a questo circuito ene il Monte Verde nel qual' è edificato un molto bello palagio de' più belli del mondo. Questo monte gira bene un miglio, nel quale son piantati albori che d'ogni tempo tengono la verzura. A lato a questo monte è fatto un molto bello lago sopra il quale ane un gran ponte de' più belli del mondo, nel quale lago son oche salvatiche ed anitre e ceceri[e][1] anitrocoli, ch' è maraviglia a vedere. Onde quando lo segnore vole cacciare non gli bisogna d' uscire di casa, però che 'n questo circuito son molti giardini di molte bestiuole e di tutte maniere. Il palagio principale nel quale ista la sedia del Gran Cane è quivi. (Ane) levata la terra più ch' altrove due passi; nel qual palagio a dentro xxiv colonne d' oro, e tutti i muri del palazzo son coperti di pelli rosse le più nobili pelle che sieno in India. E nel mezzo del palagio ane una grande pigna tutta d'una pietra preziosa che si chiama Medachas,[2] ed è tutta legata d'oro; e nel canto di questa pigna a un serpente d'oro, e che la batte continuamente; ed una rete d'oro, e di perle grandi, dipende da questa pigna, ed è larga forse una ispana. E questa pigna porta per condotto il beveragio della corte del segnore. A lato a questa pigna istanno molti vaselli d'oro da bere. In questo palagio sono molti paoni d'oro, e quando alcuno Tartero vol far festa allora battono le mani e paoni allora battono l'alie, e pare che giuochino.[3] Questo si fa per arte diavolica, e per altro ingegno che sotterra nascono.

38. *Della corte e della gloria del Gran Signore Cane.*

Quando il Gran Cane siede in sulla sedia imperiale da lato sinistro ista la reina, e un grado più giù istanno due altre sue mogli; e poi di sotto tutte le donne del parentado ordinatamente. E le maritate portano un pie d' uomo in sul capo, lungo un mezzo braccio, e sotto le piante di questo piede portano penne di grù, e 'l dosso del piede tutto ornato di grandi perle del mondo. Da lato destro poi si pone a sedere il suo figliuolo primogenito che del regnare dopo lui, e di sotta a quelli istanno tutti quelli che sono di sangue reale. Poi di sotto a quelli sono iv scrittori, che scrivono tutto ciò che dice il Signore. Dinanzi da lui istanno suoi baroni assai sanza novero, de' quali nullo è ardito di parlare se non è domandato dal Signore maggiore. Poi vi sono i giuccolari che vogliono fare allegrezza al Signore, ma no fano mai se non se le leggi a loro imposte.[4] Dinanzi alla porta del palagio istanno baroni a guardia che non sia nullo che tocchi la porta del palagio; che se per alcuno si tocasse è duramente battuto.[5]

e un palazzo dove dimoro uno de' quatro sui baroni principali. E dentro al palazzo grande è un altro circuito di muro, che da un muro al altro è forse mezza tirate d'arco, e tra questi muri vi stanno; suoi provisionati con tutte le sue famiglie. E nel altro circuito abita il Gran Cane con tutte i suoi congiunti, che sono assaissimi, con tanti figluoli, figluole, generi, de nepoti, con tante moglie, consiglieri, secretarii, e famegli, che tutta il palazzo che gira 4 miglia, viene ad esser habitato.

[1] *This is probably meant for the* cesanæ *of the Latin MSS.*, whether that be a genuine word or a mistake for *cycne*. Min. Ram. *has* Eran nell' acqua le centinaia dell' anatre, e de assaissimi uccelli che vivono di pesce, d' ogni sorte, che quel lago producè.

[2] Min. Ram. Medecas.

[3] Id. A torno la mensa sua son molti pavoni smaltati che paiono che sian vivi; e tal volta si mettono a cantare fino che 'l Signore mangia.

[4] Min. Ram. E di quei buffoni ciascuno ha l'hora sua deputata, quando dee star in guardia e tratteniimento del Signore.

[5] Min. Ram. Ma nelle porte sono guardie grandissime: e se alcuno vi

Quando il Signore fane alcuno convito allora i suoi anno xiv^{m}[1] di baroni colle corone in capo, che servono nel convito; catuno de' quali ane tale vestimento in dosso che solo le perle di ciascuuo vestimento vale xv^{m} fior d' oro. La sua corte è ordinata per decime, e ventine, e centinaia e migliaia, che tra loro ordinatamente si rispondono, e ne loro ufici non è difetto nullo. Ed io frate Oderigo fui ben tre anni in questa sua cittade, e noi frati minori aviamo nella terra un luogo diputato a darli la nostra benedizione.[2] E domandando io diligentemente da cristiani e saracini e idolatri e da nostri convertiti, che sono grandi baroni guardando solo a la persona del Signore, e tutti mi dissono per una bocca che giucolatori sono xiii tumani (il tumane è x^{m}) e quelli che guardano e nudriscono i cani e bestie e uccelli da cacciagioni sono xv^{m} di tumani, si che tra giucolari e costoro sono xxviii^{m} di tumani.[3] Si che montano in tuto cclxxx migliaia d'uomini. I medici che guardono la persona sono cccc idolatri, ed otto cristiani e i saracino.[4] E tutti costoro anno ciò ch'è loro necessario dalla corte del signore. L'altra sua famiglia è sanza novero.

39. *Del modo nel quale cavalca ogni anno il Gran Cane di Cambalu.*

Lo signore Gran Cane dimora nel tempo della istate in una terra che si chiama Sandau, la quale è sotto tramontana, ed è la più fredda terra ad abitare del mondo e di verno dimora in questa città Chanbalu che detta è. Quando il signore cavalca da una terra à un'altra, cavalca in questo modo. Egli a iv eserciti di cavalieri, l'una gli va innanzi un dì; l'altra un altro dì; e 'l terzo dopo un altro dì; e 'l quarto il quarto dì; ed egli sempre vane in mezzo, a modo di croce e gli aserciti detti sempre gli vano d'intorno, e catuno gli va di lunge una giornata e andando sempre ano la loro giornata ordinata nella quale truovano tutte queste cose che sono loro necesarie a mangiare. La gente che va con questo signore va sempre per lo detto modo, ed egli vane sopra un carro sopra due ruote, sopra il quale è fatta una bella sala tutta di legni d' aloe, ch' è tanto odorifero e prezioso, ed anche d'oro è ornata, e di perle e di pietre preziose. E questo carro menano v leofanti .....[5] e sopra il carro porta xii girfalchi. In quello sedendosi si vede alcuni uccelli sigli lascia andare. E nullo è oso d'appressarsi al carro a una gittata di pietra, se non se questi diputati a queste cose. E cosi va questo signore, e cosi vanno le mogli nello grado e 'l suo figliuolo primogenito. Onde è cosa incredibile a immaginare la grande gente ch' ane questo signore. Quelli iv eserciti che vanno con lui sono v tumani, e catuno tumane e x^{m}; e tutta questa gente anno dal signore ciò ch' è loro necessario; e se nullo di costoro [sia] presente[6] è rimesso un altro in luogo di costui; si che rimane intero il numero.[7]

s'appresasse senza licenza del capitano sarebbe amaramente battuto; *which is a misunderstanding of the matter* (see note on transl. in loco.)

[1] Min. Ram. quindeci mila.

[2] Id.....Frati minori che vi hanno il monastero: che dove dalla corte vi veniva tanta robba, che sarebbe stata bastante per mille frati. E per lo Dio vero e tanta differenza da questi Signore a questi d'Italia, come da un uomo richessimo ad un che sia il più povero del mondo.

[3] The two last figures, etc., are in the MS. xv^{m} and xxviii^{m}.

[4] Min. Ram. quali non si scemano ne aumentano, ma morti l'uno, in suo loco si mette l'altro.

[5] Defective and unintelligible.

[6] *Meaning, if* any one *is* not *present?* But *below we have* nulla novità *for* any news.

[7] *Here* Min. Ram. *has a long passage peculiar to it.* Le bestie poi di tante

40. *Come e doviso l'imperio del Cane et come son parati ospizii per li trapassanti.*

Questo signore Gran Cane lo suo imperio è doviso in xii parti, e catuna si chiama Siglo.[1] L'una di queste parti è il Manzi, ch' ave sotto di se iim grandi cittadi. Onde ene a sapere che 'l suo imperio è si grande che ben vi mesi si pena ad andare per lungo e per traverso sanza l' isole che sono vm, che non si pongono nel detto novero.[2] E ave fatto per tutto il suo imperio fare case e cortili per li trapasanti, le quali case si chiamano uman.[3] Nelle quali case sono tutto quelle cose ch' a necessaria alla vita dell' uomo. E quando nulla novità viene nel suo imperio incontinente gli mesaggi corrono in su camelli, e se 'l fatto porta pondo montano in su dromedradi, e 'ncontinente che s' appressano a questa [jam] suonano un corno e 'ncontinente uno s' apparecchia e vane insino a l' altro jam e portale quelli rimane e cosi va l' altro al simigliante modo. E per questo modo in un dì naturale a novelle di x giornate dalla lunga. Anche v' ane un altro modo di quelli che corrono. E le case di questi corrieri si chiamano chidebo, e stanno corrieri per queste case, ed anno una cinghia di campanelle. E l'una casa a l'altra ene dilunge tre miglia, ma quella de corrieri de' gamelli xx miglia. E quando s' appressa a una di queste case incontinente comincia a sonare queste campanelle, e quel altro ch' è nella casa s'apparecchia, e corre insino a l'altra casa, e cosi l'uno a l'altro, insin che giungono ov' ene il signore. Onde nulla si può fare nel suo imperio che 'ncontinente nol sapia, come detto è.

41. *Della cacciagione del gran Cane.*

Quando il gran Cane vane a cacciare fuori di Chanbalu, a venti giornate ene un gran bosco, che gira ben vii giornate. E tante bestie salvatiche quivi conversono ch' è maraviglia. Intorno al bosco istanno guardie che 'l guardano per lo signore. E 'n capo di tre o di quattro anni il signore vi va colla sua gente, il quale intorniano tutto quanto questo bosco. Poi lasciano andare i cani per terra e gli ucelli in aria. Poi si vengono ristriguendo insieme e conducono tutte queste bestie in un piano ch' è nel mezzo. E leoni e parugiani[4] e cerbi e molte altre

sorti strane sono infinite che lui tiene. Fra quali erano sei cavalli che haveano sei piedi e sei gambi per uno: e viddi duo grandessimi struzzi e dui piccoli dietro di loro con dui colli per ciascuno, e dui teste dalle quali mangiavano; senza far mentione di altri huomini salvatichi che stanno nello giardino di detto signore, e donne tutte pelose di un pelo grande e bigio, quali han forma humana, e si pascono di poma e d'altre bevande che gli ordina il Signore che se gli dia. Fra quali erano huomini non più grandi di dui spanne, e questi chiamano *Gomiti*. Nella corte ho visto huomini di un occhio nella fronte, che si chiamavano minocchi. Et a quel tempo furono appresentati al Signore dui, un maschio ed una femmina, quali havevano una spanna di busto, colla testa grossa, e le gambe lunghe e senza mani, e s' imboccavano con uno de' piedi. E viddi un gigante, grande circa 20 piedi che menava dui leoni, l'un rosso e l' altro nero, e l'altro haveva in guardia leonesse e leopardi, e con si fatte bestie andava il Signore a far caccia a prender cervi, caprioli, lupi, cingiali, orsi ed altre bestie selvatiche.

[1] *Probably for* Singlo *or* Sing.

[2] Min. Ram. E vi sono proposti quattro che governano l' imperio di questo gran Signore. E ciascuna persona che facendo viaggio passa per quei paesi, di qual condition sia, e ordinato che per dui pasti che fa non paghi nulla.

[3] *For* iam *as below;* Min. Ram. Per tutto il paese vi sono torri altissimi dove sono assaissime guardie, etc.

[4] (?)

bestie ch' ene incredibile. E son tanto le grida di quelli uccelli e cani che l'uno nove intende l'altro, si che tutte le bestie salvatiche che trieman di paura.[1] Allora il Gran Cane viene sopra tre leofanti, e saetta tra queste bestie cinque turcassi di saette e com' egli saetta cosi fa tutta la sua compagnia il simigliante. E catuno signore ave un suo segnale nella sua saetta. Allora lo signore fane chiamare Sio! cioè Misericordia! a quelle bestie, e 'ncontinente quelle bestie che son vive si dipartono. Allora vengono i baroni e truovano le loro saette e catuno prende quella bestia ch' à morta la sua saetta. Per questo modo si fane la sua cacciagione.

42. *Delle quattro Feste che tiene ogn' anno il Gran Cane.*

Ancora questo imperadore gran Cane fane ogni anno iiii gran feste. La prima è il primo dì di Febraio, la seconda il dì de la sua nativitade.[2] E convita e fa venire tutti i suoi baroni e bufoni e giucolari, e tutto suo parentado, e tutti si pongono ordinati. E spezialmente a quella di Febraio e a quella della natività tutti i baroni vanno con corone in capo, e lo 'mperadore siede in della sua sedia come detto è adietro, e tutti i baroni. Ciascuno ista nel suo lato; e sono tre divisata di baroni. I primi sono vestiti di verde; i secondi di sanguigno; i terzi d'azurro, e tutti sono incoronati e anno in mano una tavola di dente di leofante, e le cinture tutte d'oro e larghe bene un somesso, e tengono silenzio e 'ntorno a loro istanno i giucolari con sue insegne e bandiere. E in uno poggicciuolo ov' è un grande palagio dimorano i filosofi guardando certi punti.[3] Quando viene quel punto uno grida altamente saliziati (?) cioè inchinatevi al signore. Allora tutti i baroni danno del capo in terra com' è loro usanza quando inchinano. Allora quel medesimo grida levatevi e allora si levano tutti. Ancora questi filosofi guardono a certi punti, e allora quegli grida, Ponetevi il dito nel' orecchie! e poi dice Cavatene! Allora istanno un poco e dicono, Buratate farina! e molti altri segni stolti, e dicono che tutti sono grandi segni. E poi sono ufficiali che richeggiono i baroni e giucolari e se alcuno vene fallo, cade in grande pena. E filosofi quando viene il punto e l'ora dicono a giucolari, Fate festa al Signore; e quelli incontinente cominciano a sonare gli stormenti; ed è si grande il romore ch' è quasi uno isturbamento. Allora dice una boca, Tutti tacete. Allora tutti taciono. Allora tutti quelli del parentado s' apparecchiano di cavalli bianchi. Allora comincia a gridare una voce, Cotali di cotal parentado s' apparecchia di cotante migliaia o vero centinaia di cavalli! Allora sono certi apparecchiati certi che menano i cavalli apparecchiati al signore, ch' è incredibile di tanti cavalli bianchi quanti gli donono. E allora sono tutti famigliari che portano presenti al signore da parte degli altri baroni. E allora tutti i principi di munistero vengono con doni, e donagli la loro benedizione, e quel medesimo conviene fare a noi altri frati minori. E fatte queste giucolaresche cose vengono

[1] Min. Ram. Quivi e si forte il gridar delle gente, l'abbaiar de' cani, l'ulular delle fiere, e 'l sonar de' corni e l'altri stromenti, che le povere fiere assalite da tema grande, ed horror di morte che porta seco, e lo presenti stato che versa negli occhi delle infelici bestie, e 'l ricordarsi delle altre volte che vi sono incappate, che fa tremare come debole canna e non ben ferma, percossa di crudelissimi e violentissimi soffiar di Borea o d' Aquilone! Le quali vengono uccisi quasi per tema.

[2] Min. Ram. La prima è per il dì della sua natività: la seconda è della incoronatione sua: la terza è del matrimonio quando meno per moglie la regina: la quarta è della natività del suo primogenito figluiolo.

[3] Id. Non so che punti, o di stelle o di pianete.

alcuno altro giucolare dinanzi al signore e cantano molto maravigliosamente, e alcuno altro menano con seco leoni che fanno reverenza a lo 'mperadore e questi giucolari fanno venire per aria nappi d'oro pieni di buon vino, e cosi vanno a le bocche d'ogni uomo che vuol bere. E questo modo fanno, e molte altre cose dinanzi al signore. A dire la grandezza, e le gran cose della corte di costui sarebbe cosa incredibile se no le vedese. Niuno si maravigli se fa grandi ispese però che nel suo regno no si ispende altra moneta che di carta, che no gli costa nulla, e a le sue mani viene tutto tesoro.

43. *Una maraviglia del popone che contiene una bestiuola.*

Un' altra maraviglia vi dirò sua la quale io non vidi, ma udiela dire a persona degna di fede. Alcuni dicono che Chadli ene un gran regno, e qui sono monti che si chiamano monti Caspeos, ne' quali dicono che nascono poponi grandissimi, ne' quali poponi quando sono maturi s' aprono per loro istessi, e truovavisi entro una bestiuola grande, e fatta a modo d' uno agnello; si che ano quella carne a ano il popone. Questo può essere altresi bene si com' ene ne reame d' Inghilterra o di Scozia che dicono che sono albori che fanno uccelletti.[1]

44. *Del reame del Presto Giovanni ed altre contrate.*

Partendomi dal Chataio e venendo verso il ponente cinquanta giornate, passando cittadi e castella venni nelle terre del Presto Giovanni, e non è delle cento parti l'una quello che si dice di lui. La prencipale cittade di lui si chiama Casan, ch' ene Vincienza maggiore cittade di quella, e molte altre cittadi à sotto di se, e sempre per patto piglia per moglie la figliuola del Gran Cane. Poi andando per molte giornate perveni a una provincia che si chiama Chansi. Questa è la seconda migliore provincia e la meglio abitata ch' abbia il mondo. E ov' ella è più stretta è larga ben l giornate, e lunga più di lx giornate. Ed è si bene abitata che quando s' esce della porta de l' una cittade si vede le mura dell' altra cittade. Nella quale a grande copia di vittuaglia e spezialmente di castagne. In questa provincia nasce il mal barbaro, ed avene tanto che per meno di vi grossi se ne caricherebbe un asino. Ed è questa provincia una delle xii ch' ane il gran Cane.

45. *Del regno di Tibet dove si truova il Papa degli Idolatri.*

Passando questa provincia grande perveni a un altro gran regno che si chiama Tibet, ch' ene ne confini d' India ed e tutta al gran Cane. Quivi è maggior copia di pane e di vino che in nulla parte del mondo. E la gente di questa contrada dimora in tende che sono fatte di feltri neri. La prencipale cittade è fatta tutta di pietre bianche e nere, e tutte le vie lastricate. In questa cittade nullo ardisce a spander sangue d'uomo o di femmina, o d' altra bestia. Questo fanno per reverenza d'un loro idolo. In questa cittade dimora il Atassi,[2] che viene a dire in nostro modo il Papa. Ed è capo di tutti idolatrici. Questi distribuisce da tutti i benifici e partegli tra loro secondo la loro legge. Ed ane in questo regno questa usanza che le femmine portano in capo più di c paia di trecce avendo ii denti lunghi[3] a modo di porco salvatico. Ed è ancora cotale usanza in questa contrada che quando il padre d'alcuno

[1] MIN. RAM. *says* Un dì fra gli altri *viddi* una bestia grande come un agnello etc. *And here that version stops.*

[2] *For* Abassi.

[3] *Lunghi*, I think.

more, e 'l figliuolo gli vol fare grande onore, convita e rauna tutti i sacerdoti e religiosi e giucolari e vicini e parenti e portano il corpo a la campagna con gran festereccia; e quivi è apparecchiato un gran desco, e quando v' è posto suso e sacerdoti gli mozzano il capo, e danno al figliuolo. E poi il tagliano tutto a pezzi, e 'l figliuolo con tutta la compagnia cantano e cessandosi quindi un pezzo fanno orazioni. Allora vengono aguglie e avoltoi de' monti e ciascuno piglia il suo pezzo. Allora gridano e dicono Vedete che santo uomo questi fu, che vengono gli angeli per lui, e portanelo in paradiso! Poi il figliuolo se ne porta il capo e mangialo cotto poi del teschio fa fare un vaso e mangiano e beono con esso tutti quelli della casa con grande divozione. Piu altre sozze usanze sono tra quelli pagani d'oriente le quali non dico.

46. *D'un ricco popolano di Manzi.*

Nella provincia de Manzi veni ad uno palagio d'un uomo popolano la cui vita ene in questo modo. E tiene cinquanta donzelle vergini, le quali il servono. Quando viene a mangiare ogni vivanda o 'mbandigioni si portano v delle donzelle predette con molti istormenti di diverse maniere, e cantano e del continuo cantano mentre che la vivanda e nanzi. Poi costoro si partono e altre cinque delle dette donzelle si vengono col' altra vivanda, e 'mbastigione e con altri diversi istormenti e con diversi canti e per questo modo mena la sua vita. Questo signore à di rendita xxx tumani tagiai[1] di riso. Il tumano è numero di x^m; e 'l tegiar è soma d'asino. E 'l cortile del suo palagio gira ben ii miglia e 'l palazzo è fatto inquesto modo, che l'uno mattone o vero pietra è d'oro e l'altro d'ariento. Nel cortil dentro ave un monte d'oro e d'argento, sopra il quale son fatti monasteri e campanili per suo diletto. E dicesi che tra questi Manzi sono iiii^o uomini per lo modo di costui. Gli uomini di questo paese tengono per nobiltà ad avere lunghe l'unghia, e la bellezza della femmina d'avere piccioli piedi. Però quando nasce la femmina le madri istringono loro i piedi, a ciò che non crescono loro più che vogliono.

47. *Del Vecchio della Montagna.*

Partendomi delle terre del Presto Giovanni, venendo verso ponente, veni a una contrada che si chiama Mileser,[2] bella e abondevole d'ogni bene. Nella quale si dicea che sole istare il Vecchio della montagna. Egli avea fatto tra due monti un cercuito di muro, e dentro le più belle fonti del mondo. E dentro eran poste donze' vergini belle le più del mondo, e cavalli bellissimi, e tutte quelle cose che potessono dilettare corpo umano. E facea dire che questo era paradiso; e quando vedea un giovane valoroso si lo metea in questo luogo; nel quale facea andare vino e latte per condotto: e quando volea fare uccidere alcun re o barone, facea dire al soprastante di quel luogo ch' egli facesse venire il più atto e amoroso a diletti e nel dimoro di questo paradiso, e quelli allora dava beveraggi a quel cotale, che 'l facea fortemente adormentare; e cosi dormendo nel facea trare. E quelli risentendosi e trovandosi fuori di questo luogo era in grande tristizia e dolore, e pregava a quel signore che vel facesse ritornare. E allora gli dicea, Vo' tu ritornare, vane e uccidi il cotale uomo poi ci ritornerai, o campi o muoi. E 'n questo modo facea uccidere chiunque e volea. Per la qual cosa era temuto da tutti i re d' oriente, e mandavagli tributo. E 'n questo modo facea uccidere molti de' Tartari quando venieno pigliando il mondo. Per la qual cosa vi venono a oste e puo-

[1] *For* tagar.

[2] *Probably* Milebet *originally.*

sonvi l'assedio e mai non se ne partiro infino che non ebbero la cittade e 'l vecchio e feciollo morire di mala morte.

48. *Della grazia ch' anno i Frati Minori nella Tartaria.*

In questa contrada a Iddio data questa grazia a' frati minori che nella Grande Tartaria cosi anno per niente di cacciare un demonio d'un corpo d'uomo, come di cacciare un can di casa. Molti ve ne sono in demoni. E se sono di lunge ben x giornate si gli menano a' frati e al comandamento loro dalla parte di Jesù incontinente si partono via le demonia. E poi quelli che sono liberati si fanno battezzare, e frati prendono i loro idoli di feltro che quegli anno, e colla croce vanno e portagli al fuoco. E quelli della contrada tutti tragono a vedere. E l'idolo salta del fuoco e frati tolgono aqua benedetta e prizalla nel fuoco e le demonia escono del fuoco, e frati vi rimettono entro l'idolo, e 'ncontinente arde. E 'l demonio grida in aria, Io sono cacciato della mia abitazione! E per questo modo i nostri frati ne battezzano molti.

49. *Della Valle Terribile.*

Un' altra terribil cosa viddi andando per una valle posta sopra il fiume delle delizie. Vidi in questa valle molti corpi morti e vidi di diversi istormenti che quivi pareano che sonasono, onde qui era tanto timore e paura che non si potrebbe dire. Questa valle è lunga da otto miglia, nella quale qui v' entra incontinente muore. Nella quale io volli entrare per vedere quello che questo era, ed entrandovi trovai molti corpi morti, ed è cosa incredibile era ad immaginare quant' egli erano in questa valle. In sul monte trovai una testa d'uomo morto tanta terribile che mi mise si gran paura che parea che lo spirito si' volesse partire da me. E [in] questa paura sempre andava dicendo, Verbo caro factum est, etc. Poi montai sopra un monte renoso e guardando d'ogni parte non vidi niente, se non se che molte nacchere udia; e quando fui in capo del monte trovai tanto argento a modo quasi come uno iscogliame di pesce in grande quantità. Del quale niente presi, e cosi sanza alcun danno mi parti. E per questa cagione tutti i saracini m' aveano in grande reverenza, dicendo ch' io era battezzato e santo, e quelli ch' erano morti in questa valle erano istati uomini del diavolo de lo 'nferno.

Finita la diceria di frate Oderigo. Deo grazias!

51. *Attestazione del Fr. Odorico.*

Io frate Oderigo da Frigolli, d'una terra che si chiama porto maoni, dell' ordine de frati minori testifico, e rispondo al mio monistero[1] per vera ubidizione che tutte queste cose iscritte in questo memoriale o io le vidi o io l' udi dire a uomini degni di fede e dal cummune parlare delle contrade. Onde quelle che non vidi sapiate che vere sono. Altre molte cose lascio, e no le iscrivo che chi non le vedese non le crederebbe. E di dì in dì m' apparecchio di tornare in quelle contrade, e mi dispongo di finire mia vita. Deo grazias, Amen, amen, amen.

[1] *For* Ministro.

APPENDIX III.

TRANSCRIPT FROM THE ORIGINAL MS. OF THE FIRST TWO CHAPTERS OF PEGOLOTTI.

CAP. I.

Avixamento del viaggio del Ghattaio per lo chanmino della Tana ad andare e ttornare chon merchatantia.. Primieramente dalla Tana in Gintarchan sia xxv giornate di charro di buoi e chon carro di chavallo circa da x in xii giornate. Per chanmino si trovano moccholi assai cioe gente d arma e da Gittarchan in Sara sia una giornata per fiumana dacqua et di Sara in Sarachancho sia 8 giornate per una fiumana dacqua e puotesi andare per terra e peracqua ma vassi peracqua per meno spesa della merchatantia. E da Sarachancho in fino in Orghanci sia xx giornate di charro di chanmello e chi va chon marchantia gli conviene che vada in Orghanci pareche la è spacciativa terra di marchatantia. E d' Orghanci in Oltrarre sia da 35 in 40 giornate di chanmello chon carro e chi si partisse di Sarachanco e andasse dritto in Oltrarre si va L giornate e segli non avesse merchatantia gli sarebbe migliore via che dandare in Orghanci. E di choltrarre in Armalecchо sia 45 giornate di some dasino e ogni die truovi moccholi. E dArmalecchо infino in Chamexu sia 70 giornate dasino et di Chamexu in sino che vieni a una fiumana che si chiama ..... sia xlv giornate di chavallo e dalla fiumana se ne puoi andare in Chassai ella vendere sonmi dellargento che avessi, perocche lae e spacciativa terra di merchantia. E di Chassai si va cholla muneta chessi trae de sonmi dellargento venduti in Chassai che è moneta di charta chessappella la detta moneta babisci che gli quattro di quella moneta vagliono un sonmo dariento per le contrade del Ghattaijo. E di Chassai a Ghamalecco che è la mastra città del paese del Ghattaijo si va 30 giornate.

CAP. II.

Cose bixognevole a Merchatanti che vogliono fare il sopradetto viaggio del Ghattaijo. Primieramente chonviene che si lasci crescere la barba grande et non si rada. E vuolsi fornire alla Tana di Turcimanni e non si vuole guardare a rispiarmo dal chattivo al buono nonchosta quella dingordo chelluomo non se ne migliori vi va piu. E oltre a Turcimanni si

[1] *Sic* in orig.

chonviene menare per lo meno due fanti buoni che ssapiano bene la lingua Cumanesca e sse il merchatante vuole menare dalla Tana niuna fenmina chon secho si puote e sse nolla vuole menare non fa forza mappure se la menasse sara tenuto di miglior chondizione che se nolla menasse e pero sella mena chonviene che sappia la lingua Chumanesca chome il fante. E dalla Tana infino in Gittarchan si chonviene fornire di vivanda 25 dì cioe di farina e di pesci insalati perocche charne truova assai per chanmino in tutti i luoghi. E ssimilmente in tutti i luoghi che vai da uno paexe a un altro nel detto viaggio sechondo le giornate dette di sopra si chonviene fornire di farina e di pesci insalati che altre chose truovi assai e spezialmente charne.

Il chanmino dandare dalla Tana al Ghattajo è sichurissimo e di dì e di notte sechondo che ssi chonta pergli merchatanti che lhanno uxato salvo se il merchatante che va o che viene morisse in chanmino ogni chosa sarebbe del singnore del paexe ove morisse il merchatante e tutto prenderebbono gli uficiali del singnore. E ssimilmente se morisse al Ghattajo veramente segli avesse suo fratello o stretto chompangno che dicesse che fusse suo fratello si gli sarebbe dato lavere del morto e chonperebbesi in questo modo lavere. E ancora va un altro pericholo cioe che quando lo singnore morisse insino che non fusse chiamato laltro singnore che dovesse singnoreggiare in quello mezzo alchuna volta ve stata fatta novitade a Ffranchi e ad altre stranee genti. I Franchi appellaneglino tutti i christiani delle parti di Romania innanzi in verso il ponente. E non chorre sichuro il chanmino infino che non è chiamato laltro singnore che dee regnare appresso di quelloche è morto.

Il Ghattajo si è una Provincia dove a molte terre e molte chasali in fra laltre si a una cioe la mastra cittade ove riparano merchatanti e ove si fa il forza della merchatantia la quale cittade si chiama Chambalecchо. E la detta cittade gira cento miglia ed è tutta piena di gente e di magione e di abitanti nella detta cittade.

Ragionasi che un merchatante chon uno Turcimanno e con due fanti e con avere della valuta di xxv miglia di Fiorini doro spenderebbe infino al Ghattajo da lx in lxxx sonmi dargento volendo fare masserizia e per tutto il chanmino da ttornare dal Ghattajo ala Tana chontando spese di bocchа e ssalario di fanti e tutte spese intorno a cio sonmi v alla soma o meno e puote valere il sonmo da fiorini cinque doro. E ragionasi chel carro debbe menare pure uno bue e del charro x cantara di genova el charro di chanmelli mena 3 chanmeli e del charro 30 cantari di Genova e il carro de chavalli mena 1° chavallo e del charro cantara 6½ genovesche di seta communalmente da libre 250 genovesche e uno scibetto di seta si ragiona da libre 110 in 115 genovesche.

Raggionasi che dalla Tana in Sara sia meno sichuro il chanmino che non e tutto laltro chanmino ma segli fussono 60 uomini quando il chanmino e in piggiore chonditione andrebbe bene sichuro come per la casa sua.

Chi volesse muovere da Genova o da Vinegia per andare al detto luogo e viaggio del Ghattajo portasse tele e andasse in Organci ne farebbe bene e in Organci chonperasse sonmi e andasse chon essi avanti sanza investire in altra merchatantía seggià nonavesse alquante balle di tele molto sottilissime che tengono piccholo inbuglio e non vogliono piu di spesa, che vogliono altre tele piu grosse.

E possono i Mercanti cavalcare per lo chanmino o chavallo o asino o quella cavalcatura che piace loro di cavalcare.

Tutto largento che i merchatanti portano e che va al Ghattajo il Singnore del Ghattajo lo fa pigliare per se e mettelo in suo texoro e merchatanti che lui portano ne da loro moneta di pappiero cioe di charta

gialla choniata della bolla del detto Singnore la quale moneta sapella paliscj della qual moneta puoi e ttruovi chonperare seta ed ognaltra merchatantia e cosa che chonperare volesse e tutti quelli del paexe sono tenuti di prenderla e gia pero non si cosi sopra chonpera la merchatantia perche sia moneta di pappiero. E della detta moneta di pappiero ne sono di tre ragioni che luna si mette per piu che laltra secondo che sono ordinate a valuta per lo Singnore.

E ragionasi che al Ghattajo arai da libre 19 in 20 di seta Ghattaja recato a peso di Genova per uno sonmo d'argento che puote pesare da once 8½ di Genova ed è di lega d once 11 e denari 17 fine per libbra.

E ragionasi che avai al Ghattajo da 3 in 3½ pezze di chanmoccha di seta per uno sonmo e da 3½ in sino in 5 pezze di nacchetti di seta e doro per uno sonmo dargento.

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